

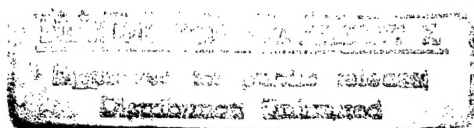


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International Affairs

U.S. Said To Have 'Designs' on Nation's Nuclear Weapons

92AS0008A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT (Supplement)
in Urdu 7 Sep 92 pp II

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Nuclear Program—American Designs and Nation's Responsibility"]

[Text] The United States has decided to approach the UN Security Council to stop Pakistan's nuclear program and have the installations opened for inspection. It wants to get a resolution passed allowing a UN team to inspect Pakistan's nuclear installations just like they did in Iraq.

The United States's feelings about Pakistan's nuclear program are not hidden from anyone. The United States does not want Pakistan to develop nuclear capability to enable it to protect itself from external attacks. The United States is trying its best to stop the nuclear program in Pakistan. [The U.S.] became angry over the issue and for the last three or four years has stopped its aid to Pakistan and has refused to comply with the agreements signed in the past. Even worse is the fact that the United States has no objection to the nuclear programs in India, Israel, Brazil, and Mexico. This special attitude is reserved for Islamic nations only so that they are not able to develop their nuclear programs. Perhaps, the reason for this is the fear that the Jewish journalists have created about Muslim nations. An agent nation like Israel was given support to destroy Iraq's nuclear progress. It made a surprise air raid on Iraq's nuclear installations and destroyed them. Now they are suspecting Iraq of hiding other chemical weapons and a UN Security Council resolution was passed to look for them. A UN inspection team is looking in every nook and corner of Iraq now. When Iraq objected to it, they threatened to use international forces against it. It seems that after taking care of Iraq, the United States is paying attention to Pakistan after finishing with talks and warnings, it is planning to stop us by some practical action. For some time the intellectuals were aware of this danger—that our turn was to come right after Iraq. If the United States takes this issue to the Security Council, it will have no problem getting any resolution that it wants passed, because the United Nations, especially the Security Council, has become an annex to the U.S. State Department. All decisions here are made according to U.S. wishes. Mr. Butrus-Ghali, the secretary general who is a Christian of Jewish descent, is especially busy in these efforts.

Let us discuss Pakistan's stand on nuclear issue. First, Pakistan has as much equal right to nuclear capability as the United States or any other country in the world. Pakistan entered this area when its neighbor, India, blasted an atomic bomb and declared its capabilities. Pakistan cannot use traditional weapons to defend itself against the hostile designs of a minisuperpower like

India. If India has a nuclear bomb, Pakistan cannot defend itself. Keeping this danger in mind, Pakistan was forced to enter the nuclear field. Our recent history shows that Pakistan's nuclear capability has made peace in this region a certainty. Now, any conflict between Pakistan and India does not change into a war on international borders. Pakistan has always proposed that it will stop developments in this area if India, the U.S.-appointed regional watchman, agrees to stop its own nuclear developments. Actually, we should demand that India's nuclear capability be brought down to the level that Pakistan has attained now. In addition, the United States should also check its agent Israel and stop its nuclear program. Israel should also be told not to take the responsibility of terminating Pakistan's nuclear program as a self-appointed regional watchman. Israel has tried this in the past and, according to recent news, its commandos are working hard to harm Pakistan's nuclear installation by way of India. It is the duty of the United States to tell India and Israel to stay within their own borders before they force themselves on Pakistan. The United States should not use its sword of a new world order against Muslim nations only.

The present U.S. attitude shows that a new "age of cross" has begun and all anti-Islamic forces have joined to crush the Islamic world. It is the duty of Islamic countries to rectify these dangers. The Islamic Conference, Arab League, Ecko [as published], Gulf Cooperation Council, and other organizations should plan to protect their member nations. They must foster such feelings of unity among the Muslim nations that the enemy does not dare to look at us with an "evil eye." This is the call of the time and the writing on the wall. It is our duty to read the writing and take action.

Relations With U.S. Reviewed, Analyzed

92AS1538A Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Sep 92 p 111

[Article by Malika Afroz Rohila: "Pakistani-U.S. Relations; Fast Times and Complicated Changes"]

[Text] The year 1990 ended while the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were engaged in a struggle for supremacy. Suddenly, one of them self-destructed and the United States now rules the world alone. This superpower possesses vast economic and nuclear resources and, through its sensational diplomacy, is narrowing the circle around the vast length and breadth of the countries of the world. It can be said about the United States that when there is a choice to be made between security and ideology, the President and the Congress agree that security should be given preference. Hence, to ensure its security, the United States is engaged in acquiring the capability to conduct a war in space. In order to understand the reality of Pakistani-U.S. relations, one should realize that the United States considers Pakistan necessary to its interests in several ways, and the United States has expressed this attitude on several occasions and in different ways. There are many links in the chain of Pakistani-U.S. relations. A

brief survey follows of how relations between the United States and Pakistan have fared during the term of office of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government.

U.S. ambassadorial sources said of the November 1990 [Pakistani] elections: "The U.S. President will present to the Congress in January a certificate of the fairness of Pakistani elections. The United States does not wish to see Pakistan become helpless before Indian high-handedness." (22 November 1990, JANG).

Soon after the IJI government assumed office, an article by U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz appeared in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR criticizing Pakistan's nuclear program and suggesting that the U.S. administration express its concern to the new Pakistani Government. This acted as a signal to the Pakistani Government, which was starting its administration burdened with the suspension of U.S. aid. Negotiations between Pakistan and the United States regarding the renewal of aid started in November. Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, Najmuddin Shaikh, met in Washington with U.S. undersecretary for foreign political affairs, [?] Robert Comte, and the undersecretary for air defense but the talk were not very productive. Discussions between the United States and Pakistan were postponed until 7 December.

In an interview with the NEW YORK TIMES in December 1990, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that certain U.S. conditions for aid were acceptable, and that if negotiations with the United States should fail, Pakistan was ready to deal with the consequences.

THE WASHINGTON POST wrote in December that the United States wanted Pakistan to end its nuclear program quietly.

During a visit to Pakistan by U.S. undersecretary for defense on 13 December, the Kashmir problem was discussed. Congressman George [name as published] expressed the view that Pakistan was not able to formulate suitable views on the Kashmir issue, nor did Pakistan succeed in convincing the United States that its nuclear program was peaceful. Voice of America expressed the view that the aid issue might take months to settle and that it was not clear where the real power lay in Pakistan.

Talks on U.S. aid started on 7 December in Islamabad. Pakistan's Minister of Interior Shujat Hussain and Rana Chander Singh met with U.S. undersecretary for foreign affairs and asked that U.S. aid for drug control efforts not be made conditional on other programs. The possibility of a solution to the Kashmir and Afghanistan issues was also discussed in these talks, as well as bilateral relations and a peaceful nuclear program. During their talks, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub and U.S. Ambassador Robert Oakley discussed the Pressler Amendment. At this time stories appeared in the press to the effect that U.S. officials were concerned over Pakistan's unyielding stand on the issue

of a peaceful nuclear program; hence, the U.S. undersecretary for foreign affairs met with Benazir Bhutto in order to pressure the Pakistani Government.

U.S. Senator [?] Claiborne Pell said that he would oppose the renewal of U.S. aid to Pakistan, and that the U.S. administration could refer to Congress regarding the exclusion of Pakistan from the Pressler Amendment. (JANG, 15 December 1990) The talks in early December were not productive. In a meeting with the Pakistani ambassador on 20 December, President Bush said that an understanding could be reached with Pakistan on the nuclear issue, and that the United States hoped for such an understanding in which the well-known demands of U.S. laws regarding the region would be met and progress made in furthering relations.

Meanwhile, headlines appeared in the U.S. press proclaiming that the drug problem could prove to be another reason for the suspension of U.S. aid to Pakistan.

The Gulf issue assumed importance in the beginning of 1991, affecting relations between Pakistan and the United States. On 2 January 1991, Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub had to clarify that Pakistan's relations with the United States did not fall under the Pressler or Symington Amendments and that Pakistani troops would serve only within Saudi borders.

It was gradually felt that the issue of U.S. aid for Pakistan would be solved only after the end of the Gulf crisis; however, the U.S. State Department announced on 27 January 1991 that the United States was making a significant reduction in economic and military aid to Pakistan, and that, if no satisfactory assurance was received regarding the construction of nuclear weapons, \$280 million in aid to Pakistan would be suspended. In its broadcast, the BBC mentioned the growing breach in Pakistani-U.S. relations; meanwhile the United States reduced aid for development projects in Pakistan, and in February 1991, announced the reduction of \$270 million in aid to Pakistan for 1992.

In its issue of 17 February 1991, ASIA WEEK quoted Pakistani journalist Mushahid Hussain to the effect that Pakistan was no longer important to the United States as a front-line state against Russia, and that the United States now regarded its relations with India and Pakistan differently. In his letter to Pakistan in March 1991, the U.S. ambassador wrote that, if the Pressler Amendment was not approved by 31 May, aid suspension would become final, and that aid would automatically stop following an eight-month suspension.

Meanwhile, Stephen Solarz repeated the claim that the Bush administration could not certify Pakistan [as not participating in a nuclear program] because Pakistan was working on a nuclear program, which was largely responsible for the deterioration in Pakistani-U.S. relations.

On 9 March, after the Bush administration sent its [foreign aid request] to Congress, because of the Pressler

Amendment's restrictions, \$239.5 million in economic and military aid to Pakistan was approved for 1992.

A U.S. spokesman clarified in a statement that the suspension or renewal of U.S. aid had no connection with Pakistan's role in the Gulf war, and that the United States had prepared a two-point compromise package on the renewal of aid.

In the beginning of March, President Bush conveyed strongly worded messages to Pakistan and other countries with nuclear programs. At the same time, it was hinted that \$239 million in aid would be restored. Prior to the 2 May meeting of the consortium in Paris, possibilities of a green light being given were raised. In its 9 May 1991 issue, THE WASHINGTON POST advised the Bush administration to revise its policy on Pakistan's nuclear program because India was responsible for the nuclear race in the region, and because of lack of participation, U.S. ally Pakistan had become isolated. [sentence as published]

At this time, there was disagreement between the U.S. administration and the congressional committee over aid to Pakistan. The LONDON STRATEGIC STUDIES [International Institute for Strategic Studies in London] said in its annual report that there was only a limited possibility that the United States would restore aid to Pakistan, and that Nawaz Sharif had surmounted the Gulf crisis better than was anticipated.

Because of the suspension of U.S. aid, Pakistan was not allowed to rebuild its F-16 planes; but F-16 planes were neither grounded nor were their flights hindered in any way. In its broadcast on 11 June, the BBC said that there was only a limited possibility of the restoration of U.S. aid to Pakistan and that it was surprising that James Baker and Dick Cheney could find no time to meet with the Pakistani delegation. In the middle of June, the Pakistani delegation met with the U.S. vice president and undersecretary of state. A U.S. spokesman described the Pakistani delegation's visit to the United States as a positive step in relations between the two countries. The spokesman said that the U.S. administration did not want to see any country become the target of Congress's restrictions. In answer to opposition claims that the IJI government was selling out its principles in exchange for U.S. aid, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said, in reference to the sending of a delegation to the United States, that Pakistan wanted to have good relations with the United States whether or not it received U.S.; that the restoration of aid was not one of the government's priorities; that the government had sent a delegation to the United States to clarify its stand on the nuclear issue; and that the fact that the Pressler Amendment was now being applied to India as well should be counted as a great success for the Pakistani delegation.

After the suspension of U.S. aid to Pakistan, Pakistan turned to China for its defense needs. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker openly expressed his displeasure over

Pakistan's new agreement with China and told the Pakistani delegation that Pakistan should not obtain ballistic missiles from China because such a step would further complicate the problems in Pakistani-U.S. relations. Later, the U.S. Secretary of State went to Beijing in an effort to prevent China from selling missiles to Pakistan. In a statement on 3 July 1991, a U.S. spokesman said that the sale of Chinese missiles to Pakistan was being studied, and that further restrictions may be placed on China.

The law-and-order situation in Sindh has had an effect on the economic aspect of Pakistani-U.S. relations. The U.S. State Department praised Pakistan's efforts in the war against drugs. Charles B. Engel said that the United States and Pakistan were allies in the war against drugs.

During 1991, the United States continued its efforts to improve relations between India and Pakistan regarding the Kashmir issue. Robert Oakley expressed concern that India might use the Kashmir issue as an excuse to attack Pakistan. He said that the United States, Russia, and China were trying to keep India and Pakistan from testing their military strength.

In November 1991, the United States presented a conditional proposal for providing nuclear technology to Pakistan. On 8 November, the U.S. ambassador said that Pakistan would receive \$240 million in aid that year. Further, Pakistani-U.S. negotiations were expected to take place in November-December of 1991. Pakistani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Saddique Kanjoo said that in the Pakistani-U.S. negotiations, the 1959 defense agreement would also be discussed. U.S. Ambassador Nicholas Platt expressed hope that the forthcoming discussions between U.S. and Pakistani leaders would have positive results.

The U.S. consul general supported Nawaz Sharif's privatization policy while at the same time criticizing the unjustified harsh attitude towards the United States; he advised businessmen and industrialists to put pressure on the government to take steps towards the nuclear weapons agreement [sic].

Meanwhile, knowledgeable sources revealed that China would not sell nuclear missiles to Pakistan because, during the visit of the U.S. secretary of state to China, the latter had agreed to sign the pact on controlling nuclear missiles technology, and that this step would also affect Syria.

In the middle part of November, before the start of Pakistani-U.S. discussions, it was decided at an important meeting chaired by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that Pakistan would make it clear to the United States that Pakistan would not allow any infringement on its sovereignty. In the talks between the United States and Pakistan at the military level, important issues were discussed and the United States reassured Pakistan that it would not allow Pakistan's military capability to be harmed. Pakistan's foreign secretary [as published], Shaharyar Khan, then said that in discussions with the U.S.

undersecretary of state, the issue of Kashmir was also noted and that negotiations would continue. He said that during the talks, the United States had not exerted any pressure or issued any warnings. In the talks, the United States had supported Pakistan's efforts to make South Asia a nuclear-free zone.

In a statement, U.S. Ambassador Nicholas Platt said that determined political action should be taken at every level against drug dealers, that greater attention should be paid to the capture of heroin producers, and that he would try to restore U.S. aid for drug control. In the last week of November 1991, some agreement was reached between the United States and Pakistan on supplying F-16 planes.

In December 1991, James Norris, head of the U.S. Agency for International Development [AID] said in Islamabad that the United States would announce the ending of all aid to Pakistan by 1995, and that the United States suspected Pakistan of going forward with its nuclear weapons program. A respected source revealed in December 1991 that the United States was preparing a regular plan against Pakistan's "patriotic stand" on its peaceful nuclear program, foreign aid, the Kashmir issue, and its refusal to accept India's hegemony, and that to further this plan, the United States had established an "anti-Ishaq circle" in that country.

After the Gulf war and the changes in South Asia the view was expressed that the United States no longer "needed" Pakistan and that was why it was using various excuses to suspend aid. But Akram Zaki, secretary general in Pakistan's foreign ministry, disagreed and said that Pakistan's importance had not ended and that the United States would approach [Pakistan] again.

In the beginning of March 1992, the Pentagon told the U.S. Congress that, although aid to Pakistan had officially been suspended under the Pressler Amendment in 1991, the United States was selling large amounts of military equipment to Pakistan commercially. In 1991, Pakistan received \$22 million worth of weapons. The U.S. State Department confirmed that the Bush administration sold weapons to Pakistan. Meanwhile, there was disagreement in the United States over the sale of spare parts to Pakistan and it was demanded that no spare parts be sold to Pakistan. At the same time, Congress approved the changes in the Pressler Amendment. A U.S. spokesman said in regard to military aid to Pakistan that in 1980 such aid was not illegal, and in 1983, Pakistan wanted to obtain a nuclear bomb, but the law was silent when it came to taking action against mere wishes.

A U.S. scholar and author, Selig Harrison has criticized U.S. nuclear policy. He said that the U.S. nuclear policy was based on discrimination; the fact that the United States was hoarding nuclear weapons and was not ready to sign the comprehensive agreement on banning nuclear experiments proved that it followed a double standard. Harrison said that the United States had no objections

when Israel obtained nuclear weapons, but the United States did not want India and Pakistan to do so. Harrison supported a regional approach to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia and thought that it would be easier to work on a regional basis.

In view of the aggressive attitude of the United States and its maniacal obsession with being the sole superpower in the world, it remains to be seen how it will fit U.S.-Pakistani relations into its new world order. From the time of his succession to office, Nawaz Sharif has always said that Pakistan will continue to work on its peaceful nuclear energy program.

If the prime minister should maintain these aims, and in the interests of Pakistan's progress should cut the knot of political expediency and come to the negotiating table for Pakistani-U.S. discussions, he will have the full support of the people of Pakistan who want at all times to see the honor and freedom of their country and nation at the zenith. If Pakistan's prime minister should succeed in convincing the United States, which is obstructing Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program, to not close its eyes to the fact that India, Israel, Argentina, South Africa, and other countries are all nuclear powers, and, if regarding Kashmir and newly liberated Afghanistan, the Pakistani prime minister should succeed, without any apologies, in maintaining the flow of moral and material aid, then these will count as the greatest successes of the present Pakistani Government.

Six-Chapter Consular Convention With China Signed

*92AS1549I Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
16 Sep 92 p 12*

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Pakistan, China To Sign Consular Convention"]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 15: In a new dimension of diplomatic relations in Pakistan's ties with the People's Republic of China, the two countries propose to sign a consular convention to institutionalise their relations during the forthcoming visit to Beijing by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the first week of next month, Foreign Office sources told THE MUSLIM, on Tuesday.

The proposed convention is based on the Vienna convention on consular matters to which both China and Pakistan are signatories. According to the sources, the draft convention has been examined and approved by the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs.

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mr. Kanju is expected to sign the consular convention on behalf of Pakistan while his Chinese counterpart is to sign the treaty on behalf of his government. The convention, it is learnt, has been approved by the federal cabinet.

Pakistan attaches great significance to the proposed treaty. Pakistan and China are two great neighbours

enjoying best of relationship. At a time when the Western countries led by the United States have imposed restriction on the transfer of nuclear technology to Pakistan, the People's Republic of China has agreed to sell to Pakistan 300 MW nuclear plant.

Both Pakistan and China desiring to develop their consular relations in order to facilitate the protection of the rights and interests of their nations and nationals, and promote the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries, have decided to conclude the Consular convention.

The six-chapter treaty shall be subject to ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification shall take place in a country to be agreed between the two nations. The present convention shall enter into force after the expiration of 30 days following the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.

Opposition Leaders From SAARC Countries Unite

92AS1549B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
9 Sep 92 pp 1, 5

[Article by Azizullah Sharif: "SAARC Opposition for Joining Hands To Strengthen Democracy"]

[Text] Karachi, Sept 8: The opposition leaders from the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries have expressed their unanimity to identify areas of common issues so that a single voice could be raised collectively and effectively by the opposition parties in the region.

The opposition leaders from Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal expressed their views at a well-attended seminar organised by the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] on "the role of opposition parties in Asian societies" at a local hotel here on Tuesday.

Speaking about the history of democracy in the SAARC region, the participants pointed out that so far six prime ministers, including Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from Pakistan, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi from India, Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman from Bangladesh, and Mr. Bandaranaike from Sri Lanka had sacrificed their lives for the cause of the democracy in their respective countries.

Those who spoke on the occasion were former Prime Minister of India and chief of the National Front, V.P. Singh, main opposition leader of Bangladesh and President of Awami League Sheikh Hasina Wajid, member of parliament and the national organiser of Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Anura Bandaranaike, leader of the opposition in the Nepalese Parliament and head of Communist Party, Manmohan Adhikari, Secretary General of Awami League and a former foreign minister of Bangladesh Dr. Kamal Hussain and the host, the former premier and the leader of opposition Benazir Bhutto.

Focusing on what should be the role of the opposition in the region in strengthening the electoral process, democracy and safeguarding the human rights, the speakers stressed the need of holding dialogues informally and not on governmental basis. Besides, efforts should be made to bring the people of the region closer by agreeing on minimum points.

Speaking on the occasion, the former Indian Premier, V.P. Singh, said that if the new world order (NWO) was dictated by any single country it may put our political and economic sovereignty at stake. "We must understand what is being imposed. The capitalism is being encouraged but the mobility of labour is being curtailed."

Mr. Singh stressed the need for creating bridge of confidence among the SAARC nations. He said, It's a reality and we should accept it that none of us can fight decisive wars. Wars only lead to problems. People want more hospitals, schools, roads and canals and not the shells and tanks, he added.

Urging the need for concrete measures to make bridge of confidence, the former Indian Premier queried, "are we not dynamiting the future of our children by exploding dynamites."

"Our destiny demands courage and we should jointly make endeavors to provide relief to the one billion population of the region which is suffering from poverty, illiteracy, diseases and the sense of deprivation," the Indian opposition leader said.

Emphasising the need of strengthening the electoral process in the South Asian countries, Mr. Singh suggested state-funding for elections in their respective countries. Since the elections have become an expensive exercise and candidates need money for this purpose black money is used in polls. If democracy has to be run on black money then one cannot hope to have clean governments.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto proposed that first of all there should be an effective guarantee that elections would not be manipulated by the government. Stressing the need of devising a machinery, embedded in the constitution, that as soon as parliament is dissolved election should be held by an independent body which has total control over the election process free from interference by the administration and the government, Ms. Bhutto said the legitimacy of the electoral process was the first prerequisite for the sanctity of the role of the opposition and democracy itself. Benazir Bhutto said impartiality of the head of the state was the second prerequisite. In the parliamentary form of government a distinction is drawn between the head of the state and head of government. Unfortunately, there are many instances when the head of the state plays a partisan role, she regretted.

The third essential ingredient for the opposition to play its role is that there must be a measure of tolerance and

mutual respect. Every democratic government must accept that it was not there to stay forever.

The fourth essential ingredient to enable the opposition to play its role she opined was the rule of law because it was not permissible in a democracy to victimise the opposition but this, she said, was the common pursuit of governments in Asian societies.

Ms. Bhutto said if these four conditions were met it would not be necessary for the opposition to take to the street. Political battles will then be fought inside the parliament and the parliament will be supreme enjoying the legitimacy of a fair electoral process. Government may come and go but the rule of the law will prevail.

Benazir Bhutto said the fifth prerequisite would be the sharing of information so there could be a consensus between government and the opposition on international and regional issues.

Ms. Bhutto said the opposition's duties should be to act as watchdog, train political workers in electoral and common skills, besides preparing to govern when its turn came.

She, however, regretted that "we in Pakistan People's Party have a long history of struggle our lives and families have been sacrificed at the altar of democracy." [sentence as published]

She said the Asian dilemma is the inability of political order to respond to the right of the people to change the government. Once a government is elected it tries to perpetuate itself in power by means which are more often foul than fair. The retribution is sometimes equally severe. Asian societies are thus caught in a cycle of repression and violence while the basic problems of the people of peace, security and economic welfare remains neglected.

President of Awami league and a main opposition leader of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina Wajid said, three basic issues regarding the division of assets, repatriation of stranded Pakistanis from Bangladesh and the plight of Bangladeshi women, who are languishing in Pakistani jails, needs immediate attention of Pakistan.

Raising the issue of the Bangladeshi women, who according to her, are facing inhuman treatment in Pakistani jails, she appealed to the government to solve this issue on humanitarian grounds.

She said many of the societies in South Asia are uncertain of the place within the larger nation. The aggressive self-aggrandisement by vested interest groups is only recent history. The violence generated by these factors, she added, have witnessed some very tragic episodes in the history of South Asian nations.

Recalling a few of those occasions, she said the turning points of histories of these nations are the assassinations of Mr. Bandaranaike, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Sheikh

Mujibur Rehman, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and termed them as sad and shameful moments in our history.

Elaborating, she said, the failure to award retribution to the perpetrators of such crimes are never viewed as acts of mercy or compassion. If these actions go unchallenged, for whatever political or personal compulsion, they return with a vengeance even on persons in power and in this regard she quoted the killing of Gen. Ziaur Rehman.

Speaking on the occasion, the national organiser of Sri Lanka Freedom Party and a member of parliament Anura Bandaranaike said that Ms. Bhutto has valid reasons to be concerned about the threat to the opposition parties in her own country and the region.

Anura Bandaranaike regretted that ethnic hatred, terrorism and political murders have unfortunately become a sad part of our present political culture.

Khaliq Sargaana Probes New Role of NAM in Peace

*92AS1521G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 7*

[Article by Khaliq Sargaana: "NAM's Role in World Peace and Stability"; first two paragraphs are THE MUSLIM introduction]

[Text] The NAM [Nonaligned Movement] is holding its tenth summit in the Indonesian capital Jakarta on 1st September. The summit is being held at a time when the international situation is in a state of rapid change and the Movement itself is passing through a critical phase in its history.

Pakistan, though a late entrant, has been playing a very active role in the Movement. Pakistan believes that the Movement as the collective voice of the Third World, has an important role to play in international relations.

The Nonaligned Movement was created in Belgrade in 1961 with 25 members to begin with. Over the three decades it has grown to the second largest body only after U.N. with membership of 104 countries.

The concept of Nonaligned Movement developed in the fifties. First the term Third Force was used and then for some time, it was replaced by the word "Neutralism". Then the titans of Asia and Africa—Sukarno, Nasir, Tito, Nehru and Cho En-lai—gathered in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955 and framed five principles of peaceful co-existence with super powers. Soon after the term "Nonalignment" became the acceptable word.

NAM was created as a response to the pressures created for the majority of mankind by the struggle for global dominance between the two super powers. It was the expression of the vast majority of the globe that they did not want to be dragged into the power game between the two blocs led by the United States and the U.S.S.R.

The rivalry between the two "Big" was at its peak at that time. NAM hoped to remove the tensions, counter the pulls and pressures and ensure the dignity and sovereignty of those who were not part of those blocs. The Movement was based on the noble principles; respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, emphasis on the struggle against exploitation, high regards for the pursuit of peace and total rejection of all kinds of hegemony. NAM required its members to pursue an independent foreign policy, support all liberation movements and stay away from all kinds of military alliances.

During the long period spread over almost 30 years the Movement fell short of expectations resulting in disappointment in its ranks. It is generally felt that with the changed international situation and inactivity of the Organisation on many world conflicts NAM has outlived its utility. Due to this disillusionment Argentina left the Movement in 1991. In the wake of 10th Summit to be held in Jakarta in September this debate has opened up again. Undoubtedly the Movement has failed to settle the outstanding issues like Kashmir threatening world peace. Most of such conflicts involve the members of the Movement itself. It is ironical that Yugoslavia, one of the founders of the Movement, disintegrated but the NAM could not play any role to stop the civil war.

The Movement remained passive even during the Gulf war. This situation is very frustrating for the Nonalignment community. Many countries including Yugoslavia have been suggesting to set up a conflict resolution machinery within the organization to promote peace among the member countries. Recently the idea of such mechanism has been considered seriously. Setting up of a trio on the pattern of European Community, consisting of former, present and future Chairmen of the Movement, is being given serious thoughts.

In the wake of the changed world scenario, the Movement is anxious to redefine its role. The Belgrade Declaration issued at the end of 9th Summit in September, 1991, committed NAM to modernising its approach. The shift in the policy is not sudden. Rather it is revolutionary. During the first decade the Movement was overwhelmed by political issues and East-West tension. Later the Movement shifted its focus to economic issues.

The 10th Ministerial meeting held in Accra declared that the Movement has decided to shift from diminishing confrontation towards increase in cooperation. The declaration called for more meaningful North-South cooperation and suggested that NAM's new focus must be on eradicating poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy.

NAM's thrust on economic issues initiated the debate on new international economic order. Lusaka Summit 1970 and Algiers Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1972 led the sixth and seventh special sessions of the U.N. General Assembly.

UNCTAD-I [United Nations Conference for Trade and Development] of 1964 was convened following the Belgrade Declaration of 1961. The first economic programme of action for Nonaligned countries was adopted at the Cairo Summit in 1964, when the ground for a new international economic order was laid. The Algiers Summit in 1973 launched an appeal for the establishment of a new international economic order consequent upon which the declaration and programme of action for the establishment of new international economic order was adopted at the 6th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

On the world economic scene NAM can still play a very significant role because it represents one half of the whole world's population. The Movement is the singular voice of the Third World on key issues like environment, trade barriers, debt servicing, raw material and protectionism.

The NAM is holding its tenth summit in the Indonesian capital Jakarta on 1st September. The summit is being held at a time when the international situation is in a state of rapid change and the Movement itself is passing through a critical phase in its history. The collapse of the bipolar world requires that Nonaligned countries should carefully evaluate their future role in the emerging international order. The summit will review the political and world economic situation.

The conference will take up a 13-point agenda including the report of the Methodology Committee. This committee was formed in 1988 to streamline the procedure of debates on ministerial and summit level and to thrash out the outstanding issues regarding the future role of the Movement. The Methodology Committee with Cyprus as its chairman, suggested that issues should be discussed under different heads like human rights, economic situation and political situation rather than reading papers covering many issues. This format was adopted in the ministerial meeting held in Accra, Ghana.

The committee in its third meeting in Larnaca also debated the issue of its permanent secretariat. Controversy is going on whether a permanent Secretariat for NAM is required. Many countries including Pakistan are against such proposal because it will be a financial burden and moreover the decision about the venue and the ratio of contribution would be difficult.

Egypt floated the idea of merger of NAM into Group of 77, some time back. Pakistan along with many other countries have taken the position that merger would be tantamount to restricting the Movement to economic issues thus losing the clout in international relations. All these issues would come under discussion during the summit.

Pakistan, though a late entrant, has been playing a very active role in the Movement. Pakistan believes that the Movement as the collective voice of the Third World, has an important role to play in international relations.

Pakistan wishes that the Movement should continue to work for the preservation and strengthening of global and regional peace and stability. It should work for safeguarding and promotion of the political and economic interests of the member states as a whole. The organisation should promote disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and confidence-building measures at global and regional levels.

One of the main objectives of the Movement should be to promote North-South dialogue with a view to overcoming major economic problems being faced by the developing countries such as low levels of developmental assistance, heavy burden of external debt servicing, reverse resources flows, an unfavourable international trade regime and an inequitable international financial and monetary system.

The Nonaligned Movement should adopt the approach that while it is primarily the responsibility of the developing countries themselves to manage their economies efficiently, the international community has a responsibility to create an environment which is conducive to the rapid economic development of the Third World countries. The NAM Standing Ministerial Committee on Economic Cooperation, which was established by the Harare Summit and endorsed by the Belgrade Summit, should be activated to promote the economic interests of the member states of the Nonaligned Movement.

Regional Affairs

Nawaz Proposes Collective Naval Security for Region

92AS1521A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Mohammad Saleh Zaafir: "NAM (Non-aligned Movement) Summit Opens in Jakarta Today; Nawaz To Propose Collective Indian Ocean Security"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 31: Pakistan will propose a summit of important littoral countries of the Indian Ocean with a view to consider ways to hammer out a comprehensive security plan for the ocean.

Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif is expected to float this proposal during the 10th Nonaligned Movement (NAM) commencing in Jakarta from Tuesday.

According to sources the proposed summit would take up the imbalance in the maritime defence of the countries of the region. This imbalance is due to relentless naval build up by some larger countries of the Ocean. This imbalance is the cause of concern for smaller countries of the region, including Pakistan.

Pakistan has consistently been calling to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear free zone and opposing the presence of big powers in the area.

Sources said Pakistan already had extensive consultations with its friends in the area. These countries have assured to extend full support to the proposal.

It is expected that Pakistan would offer to host the summit and important countries of the Ocean like India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Australia, Somalia, Kenya and South Africa would be invited to attend it.

Diplomatic observers are of the view that the recent joint naval exercises by Pakistan and the United States, and later by Pakistan and the United Kingdom's royal navies in the Indian Ocean were a part of the move to undo the impact of heavy naval build up in the area by some countries of the region.

The observers are attaching a great significance to the reported interest taken by the United States in such a security arrangement. The U.S. considers such an arrangement in the Indian Ocean of pivotal importance to its plans in the Gulf. The proposed summit would also review the overall defence capabilities of the countries of the region.

AGENCIES ADD: The 10th Nonalignment Movement summit opens in Jakarta tomorrow with main thrust on revising the movement's priorities to face the rapid political and economic changes in the internal scenario and safeguard fundamental interests of member states.

President Soeharto of Indonesia will deliver the inaugural speech followed by the address of the U.N. Secretary General, Boutros Ghali. This will be the first NAM's summit after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of cold war.

According to international political and diplomatic circles, the NAM needs revitalisation with a stress on south-to-south economic cooperation based on the concept of self-reliance to open up new avenues of growth and to reduce undue dependence vis-a-vis the north.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan and more than one hundred heads of state and government are participating in the NAM summit. The NAM ministerial meeting has recommended full membership of Brunei, Uzbekistan and the Philippines, grant observer status to Armenia, Croatia and Thailand and welcome Bosnia Hercegovina and Slovenia as guests. An application by Macedonia is to be referred to the NAM coordination bureau in New York.

The pre-summit session also passed nomination for 20 countries including Pakistan to take over the Vice Chairmanship of the Movement. Being the head of group of 77, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif opens general debate at the plenary session of the summit after the inaugural ceremony.

Senegal was nominated to the post of NAM rapporteur general while Ghana and Nicaragua, respectively were to chair the group's political economic committees.

The NAM summit will also focus, besides other problems, on the general situation in Bosnia Hercegovina and Palestine. The ministerial meeting preceding the summit here Saturday saw heated discussion on continued membership of Yugoslavia. Several Islamic countries wanted to stop Serbia and Montenegro, the rump states of the former Yugoslavia, from automatically inheriting Belgrade's NAM seat.

However, under a consensus worked out by Foreign Ministers last night Yugoslavia remains in the movement till final decision by them during U.N. General Assembly.

External debt is one of the greatest obstacles to socio-economic development of the developing countries, and the NAM summit is also going to discuss the subject threadbare with a call to creditors for debt relief measures such as cancellation of debts, reduction in debt servicing, deduction of interest rates and rescheduling and refinancing of outstanding debts.

Iraqi Team

Iraqi Vice-President Taha Yassin Ramadan left Baghdad on Sunday heading his country's delegation to a Non-aligned Movement summit in Indonesia, the Iraqi News Agency reported.

It quoted Ramadan as saying before leaving that the summit would be of "extraordinary importance...because it is being held in complex international circumstances".

He attacked the United States, the prime mover in the declaration of a no-fly zone over mainly Shi'ite southern Iraq, as the leader of a "new colonialist order" and said Iraq would highlight the dangers of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Iraq has been virtually isolated since its August, 1990, invasion of neighbouring Kuwait.

Rabbani in Jakarta

Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani left Kabul on Sunday for Jakarta to attend the Nonaligned summit starting on Tuesday, official Kabul radio said.

Burma Rejoins

Burma, which stormed out of the Nonaligned Movement in 1979, was readmitted on Sunday after India agreed to drop its objections.

The rapid readmission of Burma, which has since renamed itself Myanmar, had been opposed on the grounds that it should go through the same long and involved process faced by any new applicant.

Burma quit the Nonaligned Movement at the 1979 Havana summit, accusing Cuba of turning the organisation into a puppet of the Soviet Union.

Nepal for Changes

Nepal Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala has called for the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) to address economic and environmental issues, the state run Nepal Television (NTV) reported Sunday.

In response to a question on participating in the tenth NAM summit Koirala said: "I am going to attend the summit in the changed context in the world politics."

"The concept of Nonalignment originated during the cold period", he said. "Instead of political power, the Nonaligned Movement today needs to be changed into a forum for discussion on economic problems of the NAM countries."

He stressed the need for the NAM to come up with a concrete policy on the preservation of the environment. Underlining the need on the part of NAM to help strengthen the role of the United Nations, he said, "NAM will not reach its goal unless it can contribute to poverty alleviation".

THE MUSLIM Urges 'Credible Defense' Against India

BK0809101192 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
8 Sep 92 p 6

[Editorial: "What Constitutes a Credible Defense?"]

[Text] While millions of Indian citizens starve, in fact are living below the starvation line, Indian Defense Minister Sharad Pawar flew to Moscow Monday on a six-day visit expected to focus on difficulties over Russian arms supplies. Composition of the Indian delegation assumes added significance in view of the fact that the Indian Defense Secretary is one of its members. It has been reported that the delegation has gone to Moscow to discuss the supply of spares for its arsenal said to consist of 70 percent Russian equipment. To that extent, the visit is justified. However, high on the agenda of the Indian delegation are visits to Russian air and naval production facilities. Granted that every country needs to have a credible defence, but this does not mean that it should arm itself to the hilt. In case of India specifically, exactly against whom is it making warlike preparations? Pakistan, for its part, wishes to live in peace with all its neighbors since its size and the military equipment at its disposal do not permit it to harbor aggressive designs against anyone.

Nobody can deny that after having been ditched by the United States of America in regard to arms supplies and spares, Pakistan has problems about keeping its military equipment operation worthy and the aircraft of the Pakistan Air Force flying. It is for the latter reason, and only that, that Pakistan's Minister for Defense Production Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani will soon embark for London to witness the Farnborough international exhibition and air display. His will not be a pleasure trip. Owing to delay in delivery of F-16s booked by it,

Pakistan has to look for other options which will be on display in the exhibition, like Russian SU-27, MiG 29, Mirage 2000, and the latest French aircraft Raphael, which is yet to be tested. Mr. Bijarani has said the exhibition would provide an opportunity to look for a specific air defense system. "We cannot match India in the number of aircraft, nor do we have the resources, so the best thing would be to have better quality with latest technology to ensure strategic national defenses," the minister observed.

Pakistan was badly let down by the Americans in the 1965 war when arms and spares were denied to it. For over two years now we have been denied both economic and arms assistance under the Pressler Amendment. Time and again it has been proven that the Americans are anything but reliable friends. Today they are denying us aid because they insist that we are preparing to make a nuclear bomb. Tomorrow they could do us down on an even more untenable excuse. It is, therefore, politic for us to seek other options. We cannot discard the possibility that the Americans will try to shoot down any alternate deal we might make elsewhere, but the fact is that Pakistan needs an air force purely for its air defense and not because it intends to attack any neighbor. The bottom line is that we need to do what Mr. Bijarani has gone to London to do, because it is an imperative for maintaining a credible defense. We cannot continue dependence on American largesse if we intend to defend our airspace against a neighbor whose truculence is an established fact. Anyone who misreads our motives should remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of freedom."

Azad Kashmir JI Leader Interviewed on Militant Efforts

93AS0003A Lahore ZINDGI in Urdu 29 Aug pp 31-32

[Interview with Abdul Rashid Tarabi by Ashiq Hussein: "Thousands of Mujahedeens From 22 Countries Ready To Enter Azad Kashmir"]

[Text] The people of occupied Kashmir are tolerating batons, bullets, bombs, tear gas, curfews, and other crackdown efforts of India soldiers because they believe that this is the price of their independence and will bring them the good news of victory. They know that they cannot achieve their goals without sacrifices. The people of occupied Kashmir have "put their boats in the flow of mujahadeen." In this situation, the 20 training camps in Azad Kashmir have to join forces with their brothers in occupied Kashmir. However, some political parties and persons in these 20 camps are trying to establish their credibility. The political parties are aggravating this situation. The "Jamhoori Ittehad" of the opposition parties have declared that they will break up the cease-fire line on 24 October. Last year, the Liberation Front also tried to cross the cease-fire line.

On 13 August, Mr. Abdul Rashid Tarabi, the leader of Azad Kashmir Jamaat-i Islami (JI), announced at a press

conference held at an Islamabad Hotel his plans for a jihad. He announced that 70,000 young men from Azad Kashmir were ready for the jihad. He also talked about the support of another 30,000 mujahadeen from 22 different countries who had fought in Afghanistan. Abdul Rashid Tarabi told the newsmen that he was going to destroy the so-called cease-fire line and help the suffering, unarmed freedom fighters in occupied Kashmir. The press and the political observers were astounded by Abdul Rashid Tarabi's announcement and even international newspapers commented on it. This announcement was welcomed in Azad Kashmir and occupied Kashmir alike.

Thirty-seven-year-old Abdul Rashid Tarabi is the leader of the Azad Kashmir JI. His friends and enemies acknowledge his services for jihad efforts to free Kashmir. Three years ago, when Kashmiris began to migrate to Azad Kashmir because of the Indian army's atrocities, they had no place to live and no food to eat. Abdul Rashid Tarabi welcomed the helpless refugees and mujahadeen and served all of them equally without any regard to their party allegiance. That is why he is popular with all mujahadeen. His announcement to start jihad was equally welcomed in Azad Kashmir and occupied Kashmir. We interviewed him in Rawalpindi and got details of the jihad announced by Azad Kashmir JI and asked questions related to it.

[Hussein] You announced that the JI will send its armed men and that 70,000 men are ready in Azad Kashmir. You also said that mujahadeen from 22 countries are being sent to occupied Kashmir. This is an important announcement because it can cause problems for Pakistan's security also. Would you like to comment on it?

[Tarabi] Since its inception the JI has subscribed to the idea that there is no other solution to the Kashmir problems except jihad. Even though I believed for some time that the Kashmir issue should be resolved according to the UN resolutions, India will not be willing to discuss Kashmir until it is forced to face jihad on military, political, and diplomatic fronts and it is convinced that its security is in danger. We have decided to include the whole Islamic world in the jihad to force India into this corner.

The JI was established on 13 July and you know that 13 July is an important corner stone of the jihad campaign. It was decided at the founding of the JI that Azad Kashmir would be divided into 20 camps of mujahadeen. It was important to take some concrete steps in this direction.

The JI has been involved from day one in planning for jihad, attaining its goals, and organizing and strengthening the campaign. We welcomed the mujahadeen coming from Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, and provided them with training, accommodations, whatever they needed. The Pakistan JI helped us generously in these efforts. We had decided from the very beginning that we will fully participate in this jihad. We have been making

a lot of preparations for the last eight or 10 years to attain this goal. Thousands of our young men took part in the Afghanistan war to get practical experience.

The mujahedeen and leaders in occupied Kashmir insisted that the JI openly announced its plans to join the jihad. Moreover, we could not tolerate the atrocities being committed in occupied Kashmir any more. We had enough politics of meetings and processions and needed some action. It was important that the blood of Azad Kashmir and the Muslim world joined the flow of the blood being shed in occupied Kashmir. This would put pressure on India and give new courage to the people and the mujahedeen in Kashmir.

India does not want this independence campaign to become an international issue so that it can easily crush it. Therefore, it was important that this campaign be brought to world attention as an international issue and an Islamic problem. When mujahedeen from 22 countries join us and one of them is killed, the news of his martyrdom will be published in his home country. The whole nation will learn through its news media that their compatriot was killed by an Indian bullet, and the young men in that country will get excited and hatred against India will spread in the whole country. This is our goal and we decided to include muslims of Azad Kashmir and the whole world in this jihad.

[Hussein] How will your decision affect the people and the mujahedeen in Kashmir?

[Tarabi] The mujahedeen and their leaders have always said that they want us to join this effort. When our people visited and got killed in occupied Kashmir, the people of Kashmir learned that they were not alone. We lost our precious commandos like Umar Sarfraz, Basharat Abbasi, and Abdul Rehman in these efforts. However, their martyrdom also raised the morale of Kashmiri people. Our announcement will also affect their morale greatly. When the Kashmiri mujahedeen see mujahedeen of other countries by their sides at every front, no power in the world will be able to keep Kashmir a slave country.

[Hussein] You said that you have mujahedeen from 22 countries. Can you give us more details about them? Have they arrived in Mujaffarabad?

[Tarabi] Mujahedeen from 60 countries took part in the Afghanistan war. Even new Muslims from the United States of America were martyred there. Russian Muslims also lost their lives. I think, we will not have Muslims just from 22 countries, but from the whole world. However, mujahedeen from 22 countries are ready to enter Kashmir. A large number of mujahedeen have joined us and the remaining are waiting for our call at their centers.

[Hussein] Pakistan cannot allow any interference in Kashmir or India from its territory because of the UN resolutions and the Simla Agreement. Second, both countries are holding talks to normalize relations. In

such a situation, your announcements can destroy normal relations between the two countries and also start a war.

[Tarabi] Our announcement is not interfering in India's internal affairs. Kashmir is a disputed area. I am not interfering in Delhi or Bombay. Moreover, we Kashmiris are not bound by any Indian-Pakistani agreement. Helping our suffering brothers is our right. The whole world recognizes that Kashmir is a disputed region and India is committing atrocities there. The whole world says that this issue should be resolved. In our opinion, the only solution of this problem is to start a wide-scale jihad against India.

Every law in the world allows us to unite our forces to free our brothers. We are going to use this right. Pakistan is our partner and advocate in this issue. Therefore, we ask the government of Pakistan to not only stop negotiations but also terminate diplomatic relations with India. You have sent the [Yugoslav] ambassador to Belgrade over the Bosnia issue, and it was a good decision. Why is the Indian ambassador still in Pakistan? We are opposed to any kind of talks with India. I say that Pakistan's foreign ministry is sabotaging our campaign to liberate Kashmir by holding talks with India. The foreign minister's role in these talks is hurting our campaign. We ask the government to investigate the foreign ministry. Otherwise, we will tell the people that the government is involved in conspiracies against the jihad campaign. After that, the Pakistani people will not allow anyone who goes to Delhi for talks to return to Pakistan. We will make return to Pakistan impossible for them.

[Hussein] You are pushing for an Indian-Pakistani war. The military experts in Pakistan say that they want to keep Srinagar burning because the Kashmir issue would end if there is a war. Even Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan has expressed such an opinion in an interview. He said that military action will not resolve this issue. Why do you insist on an open jihad after knowing such opinions by the experts?

[Tarabi] If we are not ready for a war, then India will force a war on us. These experts are going too far when they say that they want to see Kashmir burning. The people in Kashmir are being killed, women are being raped, and India will start a war when it finds us weak. A Muslim is weak when he is not ready for jihad. When you repeatedly say that you do not want a war, it means that you are signaling your weakness and cowardice to the enemy. There is only one way to avoid war: You keep the enemy busy in his own territory.

As for your comment on what the prime minister of Azad Kashmir said, one day I will be able to talk about his attitude openly. He is confusing the jihad campaign. While he is forming an "almujahid" force by combining small groups, he is also saying that a war is not the answer to this problem. His statements are discouraging the mujahedeen. The prime minister of Azad Kashmir

should be careful in making statements. A strong lava is smoldering against his statements. We do not know in what way will it erupt.

[Hussein] When the Liberation Front announced its plans to cross the Control Line, you had opposed them. Now, you have decided to do the same thing. How can your decision now be right?

[Tarabi] I opposed their decision because the Liberation Front crossed the Control Line with unarmed people. I believe that armed mujahedeen groups and companies should cross the line and join Kashmir mujahedeen to fight the Indian armed forces. That is why we had opposed the Front decision. My plan is to send armed and trained people from here to join the jihad efforts.

[Hussein] Various international Islamic organizations celebrated Kashmir unity day on 13 August. How accurate is the information that the Islamic organizations will focus on Kashmir now?

[Tarabi] The Islamic organizations have been associated with us even since the Kashmir campaign was launched. We had called an international jihad conference in Muzaffarabad in 1990. Representative of Islamic organizations from all over the world had participated in it. Similarly, we had two sessions in Lahore and Islamabad last year. The Islamic organizations promised to provide support for jihad in Kashmir. We are thankful to Allah that we have succeeded in making it a Muslim issue instead of a national issue. Qazi Hussein Ahmad has travelled Islamic countries in this context. We have the support of all Islamic organizations.

[Hussein] What is the role of our government in Azad Kashmir? The government has spent millions of rupees in this effort and helped establish various groups such as liberation cells. How satisfied are you with the efforts of the government and its various agencies?

[Tarabi] When the mujahedeen and refugees began to come from occupied Kashmir, the government was still here. However, nobody came to welcome or help them. I met Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan once or twice and asked him to make a plan to work with us. He is busy campaigning against the president of his own party and publish stories of fights between the two leaders instead of stories related to the Kashmir issue.

Sardar Khan established a liberation cell and appointed his favorite general there. He is being paid 50,000 rupees a month. We ask, what has he accomplished? What literature has he produced? What great deed has he accomplished? They are building the headquarters of the al mujahid force in Muzaffarabad and are spending hundreds of thousands of rupees on decorations alone.

[Hussein] Are you and other responsible officials of the JI willing to go to occupied Kashmir?

[Tarabi] I tried many times, but I was not given permission to go to occupied Kashmir. Allah willing, I will enter occupied Kashmir with my followers!

Government in Fix Over Moving of Mujaheddin Weapons

BK0609095292 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
6 Sep 92 p 12

[Text] Peshawar—The federal government seems to be in a fix in dealing with the arms depots of Afghan Mojahedin and the continued demonstrations of thousands of local tribals in Bajaur Agency demanding shifting of weaponry to Afghanistan.

The political authorities in the Agency are busy in persuading the people to keep patience at this stage and not to demand the shifting of heavy weaponry to other side of the border because of ongoing clashes between the forces of Golboddin Hekmatyar and the troops of Afghan government.

A jergah [grand assembly] of Salarzai tribe, led by Sher Mohammad Khan of Pusht, Haji Bakhtiar, malik Ayaz of Nazakai and Malik Mohammad Yunas, called on political agent of Bajaur on Saturday to lodge its protest over the presence of heavy weapons in the two large refugee camps at Yousufabad and Shah Jehanabad.

It is reported that Hekmatyar, having a stronghold in the camp, dumped a huge quantity of ammunition beside the depots owned by the parties of former Afghan President Sebghatollah Mojaddedi and Pir Seyyed Ahmad Gilani.

Tension among the three Mojahedin parties was also reported who are trying to capture each other's depots in the area. It was on Thursday that as many as 10,000 people from Salarzai and Mahmend tribes staged demonstration to demand the removal of weaponry. But the central government has yet to decide whether to allow the transportation in keeping with the demand of the local people or stick to its commitment to bring a halt to all such activities where Pakistani soil could be used by any side during Afghan infighting.

It was reported that several trucks loaded with weapons were stopped at the eleventh hour by the personnel of Frontier Constabulary at Yousufabad on Wednesday which were to cross into Afghanistan. It was learnt that the authorities had ordered the shifting of deadly weapons in the backdrop of continued demonstrations but later had to review the decision until the situation in Kabul was cleared.

The political agent told the jergah that Islamabad has decided that the move should be postponed till the next orders. The demonstrators had warned that if the weapons were not shifted within two weeks, they would resort to long marches upto Islamabad to press for their demand.

It was further learnt that most of the weaponry had already been transported to Mohammad Gatt area in Nawa Pass from where it could easily be taken onward through Konarha province. While on the other side, it was also reported that Garam Chashma route is being

used by Rabbani's men to equip the forces of Defence Minister Ahamad Shah Mas'ud from Jam'iyat owned depots at Chitral.

Internal Affairs

Selection of New JI Chief Analyzed

93AS0058A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT (Supplement)
in Urdu 26 Sep 92 pp 1

[Article by Syed Anwar Kidwai: "Selection of New Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)"]

[Text] The process for selecting the "new chief" of the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] is in its last stage now. The shura (executive council) of the party has nominated Senator Qazi Hussein Ahmed, Professor Khursheed Ahmed, and Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi for this position. The 6,000 plus new members of the JI will elect the "new amir [chief]" and ballots for this have already been issued. The name of the new amir will be announced next month. The JI has its own brand of election system. The shura nominates three persons. Members of the JI can neither become the amir nor express a desire to be considered for any position. The shura of the party has the right to nominate candidates. However, the members of the JI do not have to vote for any of the proposed candidates. They can nominate another candidate and vote for him. However, usually there are no other candidates except the three proposed by the shura. It is important to mention here that the JI does not disclose the number of votes received by the candidates for position of amir. These numbers are kept "secret." Attention of the whole nation is focused on the election of the amir of the JI. We wonder who will be the new amir!

The decision will be made by the party members. The party sources have revealed that the real contest is between Qazi Hussein Ahmed and Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, and it is the first time that the differences within the party have become known to the public. Some circles believe that the JI is suffering from critical internal strife. The "older" JI people do not like Qazi Hussein Ahmed's "public activities." They have accused him of breaking the party rules, disobeying Maulana Maudoodi's orders, and ignoring the "Pasban" organization. The younger members consider Qazi Hussein Ahmed's "public activities" appropriate for these times. They claim that Qazi Hussein Ahmed is leading in the election. The veteran members of the JI want to function according to party rules and regulations. They charge that the organization that Maulana Maudoodi established for improving young people's character has been brought into "the streets" by Qazi Hussein Ahmed. They accuse him of becoming popular by showmanship rather than by demonstrating his character. It is fine for politics, but politics is not the goal of the JI. These accusations are not levied by common JI members, but by "the high and mighty" in the JI who are close to Maulana Maudoodi and are considered the "veterans"

in the party. According to political circles, the JI is suffering very badly from internal strife. The JI leadership has forgotten the teachings and principles on which Maulana Maudoodi founded this party and later popularized. The former amir of the JI, Tufail Mohammad, opposes the policies adopted by Qazi Hussein Ahmed, the present amir. He resigned from the shura membership for this reason. However, he never issued a lengthy statement against Qazi Hussein Ahmed. He showed his prudence and did not say more than a few sentences.

The next day, Qazi Hussein Ahmed rejected the story about resignation and said that it was all for propaganda. He said that Maulana Aslam Saleemi, the party's general secretary, was sent to meet Mian Tufail Mohammad asking him to take back his resignation. Meanwhile, Maulana Naim Saddiqi talked openly. He is one of those elder statesmen who has supported Maulana Maudoodi from the very beginning to this day. He revealed in one interview that some fraudulent practices were carried out in the JI shura elections in Faisalabad. When this accusation was proved to be right, some leaders, including Rana Anwar Tahir, Haji Abdul Karim, and Nur Ahmed Shahbaz, were dismissed from JI membership, and Amir Chowdhery Yaqub, General Secretary Asadullah Latif, and Faqir Hussein Shah were suspended from three Faisalabad district committees. Maulana Naim Saddiqi says that concern about the present amir of the JI was felt during the Gulf war. This concern was not cleared fully and now the new problem over "Pasban" has emerged. He strongly opposed the "Pasban" organization and said that admission to "Pasban" is open and unrestricted. It is open to anyone including Qadianis, Ismaili, Mulhad, American agents, or members of the RA [Indian intelligence agency]. He further said that whenever Maulana Maudoodi is referred to they say, "Maulana Maudoodi's time has gone." Maulana Naim Saddiqi said that we feel like "waiting for him with our three eyes."

Several other members have similar complaints because in the past the JI focussed on its programs rather than on fighting. Qazi Hussein Ahmed has brought the JI out of Mansura and put it on the Quaid-i Azam Highway. He organized the "caravan of love" to develop love and respect for Islam among the people. This evolved as a new organization called Pasban and was used to unite the youth. This organization started working on "jihad against atrocities." It seems that the JI is trying very hard to become a party of the people. The manifesto and bylaws of this party promise something else. That is why some guarded objections to Qazi Ahmed's activities were raised. However, one cannot deny his "services" either. That is why the party shura elected him the amir twice. Prof. Khursheed Ahmed was a cabinet member during the late General Zia's regime. He has served Islam remarkably while living in England. He is considered to be an expert on the Islamic economic system. Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi is an associate of Maulana Maudoodi and Mian Tufail Mohammad and is trained by them. His politics are considered to be along

the lines of "Maudoodi thought." It is important to mention here that his son lost his life in Afghanistan. He belongs to Sindh's Larkana region where he is considered to have considerable influence. He was amir of Sindh's JI and is deputy amir of the national party. Now that the elections for the party amir are being held, he is traveling in the United States while some circles are publicizing in support of Qazi Hussein Ahmed. A couple of newspapers and magazines have published statements issued by Mian Tufail Mohammad and other members in connection with the JI elections. The writers are closely related to the JI and the younger members of the JI began to express their reactions to these by saying that government agents were carrying out anti Qazi Hussein Ahmed propaganda.

The JI is the most organized religious party in this country with many affiliated organizations and influence in various spheres of our nation's life. The goal of this party is not politics, but to popularize Islamization here. That has been Maulana Maudoodi's mission. This party was established in August 1941. At that time, Maulana Maudoodi said, "The kind of work we are planning to do requires people who have fear of Allah in their hearts, have the feeling for their responsibilities, give preference to the other world over this world, and must follow the rules that they are required to follow. All their actions are controlled by the will of Allah. They must be so strong of character that even when all the treasures of the world are in their hands, they will remain honest." Maulana Maudoodi's mission was to change the character of our young people. His open order to his party was: "I do not care if it takes 100 years, we must change our people's mentality. We must change their character and develop them to the level so that they are ready to bear the burden of an Islamic form of government." He made it clear that, "the one and only purpose of establishing JI is to popularize and implement Allah's teachings in every sphere of life. When we do political work, we do not do it for political reasons or to get political power. We do it to remove the hurdles in the path of popularizing the teachings of our religion. We must pave the way to stimulate the Islamic revolution using democratic means." That is why the rules for admission to the JI membership were very austere so that only well-disciplined persons would be able to become its members. Its doors were not open to everyone, like that of a political party. At present, the number of JI's chosen membership is not more than five or six hundred thousand. Maulana Maudoodi clearly directed its party leaders not to try to impress the people with their writings, speeches, and demonstrations to get the swarms of people around them to lead. "You have to introduce them to the real Islam. You cannot bring about profound changes among the people by conjuring them or by poetry."

The elders of this party say that Qazi Ahmed is amassing hordes and this is not the purpose or mission of the JI. Meanwhile his associates say, "The time calls for us to go forward and be heard. We cannot effect changes just by

building character. If we go to the people and work with them, they will be assured that we are with them and we will not let atrocities be committed against them. All this is just what Maudoodi wanted." It should be mentioned here that Qazi Hussein Ahmed is both the amir of JI and chairman of Pasban. He is using this platform to unite the young people. If the JI members choose to vote for Qazi Hussein Ahmed, they will be endorsing Qazi Ahmed's "new policies." This would put the JI on a new political path. Will Qazi Hussein Ahmed be credited with it or will Maulana Maudoodi's mission get the honor? Only the historians of the future will be able to decide.

JI Said Heading Towards Splinter into Factions

93AS0064A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
21 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Aziz-Ud-Din-Ahmad: "Jamaat-i-Islami Moves Towards a Split"]

[Text] Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, has at last proved himself to be a square peg in a round hole. His non-conformist approach to political issues and his flamboyant *awami* style, alien to the orthodox Jamaat-i-Islami, have at least landed him in thick soup. He is *persona non grata* for the Jamaat old guard which is now after his blood.

Mian Tufail Mohammad, a founding father and an ex-Amir of the Jamaat, has fired the first salvo by resigning in protest from the *Shura*, the central decision-making body of the Jamaat-i-Islami. More resignations are to follow. A split in Jamaat may occur before elections for the next term of the chief are over. Mian Tufail Mohammad represents a trend in the Jamaat which is not confined to Punjab alone but is present in all the provinces. He stands for a dogmatic attitude which stresses purity of ideology in the face of all types of situation, with no flexibility or concession.

Mian Tufail Mohammad has not only resigned but has also addressed a letter to the members of the Jamaat *Shura* explaining the differences he has of late developed with the Jamaat's more youthful leadership. He has particularly mentioned two issues: the support given by Qazi Hussain Ahmad to the government Shariat Bill and the creation of Pasban.

Mian Tufail has told a weekly he is deeply grieved over the endorsement of the government-sponsored Shariat Bill by the Jamaat leadership. The Bill has been supported by the Jamaat members of the National Assembly and the Senate including Qazi Hussain Ahmad and Prof. Khurshid Ahmad, the second highest office-bearer of the Jamaat. By supporting this Bill they have disqualified themselves not only from the leadership of the Jamaat but also from its basic membership. The secular India, according to Mian Tufail, has enforced more of Shariat by keeping Muslim personal law out of the purview of the state laws. By supporting the government-sponsored

Shariat Bill the Jamaat has exhibited insensitivity to a matter that it should have been most sensitive about, says he.

Mian Tufail disregards the assurance Qazi Hussain Ahmad claims has been given to him by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that he would introduce a new constitutional amendment removing the lacuna found in the *Shariat* Bill. Mian Tufail rebuts it by putting a rhetorical question, "Is it possible for a man to continue to remain a Muslim when he declares himself to be *kafir*, or an unbeliever, even for a day?" Mian Tufail thinks much change for the worse has taken place in the Jamaat-i-Islami after it came under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad. "It is no more the Jamaat-i-Islami that we had joined after Maulana Maududi had founded it," he laments. All Jamaat members who supported the Bill deserve punishment and the least would be to debar them for good from representing the Muslim community in the country.

Pasban is the other source of differences within the Jamaat. The old guard is deadly opposed to the creation of this mass organization. Some openly claim no permission was given by the *Shura* to organise it.

The Pasban is an anomaly when one compares it to the mother party that has given it birth. It is, for instance, a mass political organisation as opposed to Jamaat which remains till date a cadre organisation with a couple of thousand members. Pasban is an exuberant, noisy and a loud party, just the opposite of the calm and deadly serious Jamaat. It works hard to project its leadership as, for instance, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] does. This style of work goes against the very grain of the Jamaat. The Jamaat constitution demands that the ideology and the programme of the party and not its leadership should be highlighted. The Pasban, claims Mian Tufail's faction, has "developed into a personal organization to project the image of Qazi Hussain Ahmad." Pasban's claim that it has nothing to do with the Jamaat is also criticised as false and hypocritical. The Jamaat leaders complain that Pasban workers do not allow Jamaat high-ups and its members of the Parliament to attend their public meetings and remove Jamaat flags if they happen to be carried there by Jamaat workers. Jamaat-i-Islami seems to have decided to acquire access to corridors of power, says Mian Tufail Mohammad, through Pasban, thus deviating from the character and style of work which has been the hallmark of it.

Another Jamaat old-timer Ch Nazir Ahmad, a member of the *Shura* and Amir District Okara, who has simultaneously resigned from the *Shura* and district leadership has blamed Qazi Hussain Ahmad of going against the Jamaat style of work that has distinguished it from other political parties for the last forty-five years. This style of work has been characterised by seriousness, dignity, logical discussion and scholarliness. Qazi Hussain Ahmad has, on the other hand, opted for a senseless programme, wastage of money and a noisy style of work.

This, according to him, does in no way strengthen Islam. The way Pasban rallies are being held, he claims, is not exactly in conformity with Islam. The *awami* style may suit PPP but should in no case be employed by the Jamaat.

Jamaat circles close to Mian Tufail go a step further in criticising Pasban. It is sometime whispered that the organisation has been created to overthrow the government and capture power by force of arms. Ch Nazir Ahmad, in his letter addressed to Qazi Hussain Ahmad actually hints at this. "The Jamaat-i-Islami constitution clearly states," he says, "that it would not resort to secret style of work or a policy that leads to *fasad fill arz*. There is evidence to show Pasban indulges in both."

Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Gulf policy has also been a cause of strife between the faction led by Mian Tufail and Qazi Hussain Ahmad's followers. Qazi Hussain Ahmad had come out to oppose the American policy in the Gulf and had also criticised Muslim countries siding with America, Saudi Arabia being the foremost among them. This he had done after returning from the Middle East, where he had apparently consulted Ikhwan al Muslemeen and other Islamic parties. Nearer home Golboddin Hekmatyar, a close ally of Qazi Hussain Ahmad had also declared support for Iraq. The common man in Pakistan was also enthusiastic about Iraq for challenging super-power America in spite of being a poor Third World country. Qazi Hussain Ahmad could not remain unaffected by all this and had to openly express solidarity with Iraq. This embarrassed Mian Tufail who was all out against Saddam because of, among other things, being closely associated with Saudi Arabia. On his next visit to Saudia, he had to work hard to convince his hosts that support for Saddam was a personal whim of Qazi Hussain Ahmad and not a policy of the Jamaat, which stood by the Saudis all along.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad is keen to be re-elected as the party chief in elections that are being held these days. His supporters are reported to have begun canvassing for him. Now canvassing, like the *awami* style of the present Amir, is a totally new phenomenon in the history of the Jamaat. The party has so far regarded it to be un-Islamic. Qazi Hussain Ahmad has organised a publicity tour of the country called *Caravan-e-Dawat* taking along with him no less than a hundred members of the party. The tour, complain his detractors, is no more than an election gimmick.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad has been reported to have enlisted the support of members of the Jamaat students organisation, the Islami Jamiat Tulba, who canvass for him in small groups, visiting individual members of the Jamaat in order to sell Qazi Hussain Ahmad to them. A rift in Jamaat, therefore, will not leave Jamiat Tulba unaffected.

Ch Mohammad Aslam Salimi, the Secretary-General of the Jamaat happens to be on the side of the President. In a controversial explanatory statement issued by him

regarding Mian Tufail's resignation, he has blamed a secret agency of the government, headed by a retired Brigadier, to be involved in an anti-Qazi campaign aimed at defeating him in the elections. The agency is doing this presumably at the instance of the IJI government which finds him not to be as amenable as some other members of the Jamaat could have been.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad is sure to be supported by quite a few Jamaat members and sympathisers for much has happened since the death of Maulana Maududi. From being a party in political wilderness which necessitated a Spartan lifestyle much idealised by its old guard, the Jamaat has travelled far to enter the avenues of power. It was a part of the first civilian cabinet under the Martial Law and later on continued to be patronised by Ziaul Haq. It was a part and parcel of the ruling IJI coalition for a time. During all this period the Jamaat benefited from the kudos that accrue to those in power or their associates. Gone are the days when the Jamaat could brag about its high standards of morality and call its members *saliheen*, the chosen ones. Among numerous *qabza* groups operating in Punjab under the patronage of the ruling coalition, about a couple belong to the Jamaat. They would much rather have a mass party with flexible morality and take stands that the old guard would regard as compromising. When cadre parties join larger coalitions and go for power they are bound to lose much of their pristine righteousness. Jamaat-i-Islami is going to be no exception.

There are many youthful followers of the Jamaat, particularly in Islami Jamiat Tulba, who are tired of the old style of work that fails to deliver goods immediately. They want to see results produced in their life-time. Qazi Hussain Ahmad's style of doing politics attracts them. They too would opt for his faction.

JI Seen Facing Internal Challenge, Turmoil

93AS0027A Lahore THE NATION in English
15 Sep 92 pp 1, 9

[Article by Sarmad Bashir: "Tufail's Resignation Serious Setback for Qazi?"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—Former Jama'at-i-Islami Amir Mian Tufail Muhammad's resignation from the party's Central Executive reflects an internal party struggle, one of the most serious of the party's history, which will probably come to a head in the election for party Amir due next month.

Mian Tufail has expressed the sentiments of the hardliners in the 85-member Shoora against the policies of the incumbent Qazi Hussain Ahmad but they lack the courage to act like Mian Tufail who did not accept any pressure to deny the reports in the Press. Mian Tufail is also acting as the focus of opposition to the increasingly controversial Qazi Hussain, which of moves against

their succeed could possibly the first Jama'at Amir to be toppled from his office while still available to serve. [sentence as published]

Mian Tufail Muhammad who joined Jama'at-i-Islami at the age of 27 had to take this decision with a heavy heart. In his half-century association with the Jama'at he had never been side-tracked the way his successor Qazi Hussain Ahmad, whom he himself had elevated to the party Secretary-Generalship, did after succeeding him five years ago.

Among the Jama'at's hardcore cadres Mian Tufail is one who opposed Qazi Hussain on a number of issues but the difference was that the others prefer to restrict themselves to the Shoora while the former Jama'at Chief expressed his feelings in public. It was finally the Shariat Act which constrained Tufail Muhammad to resort to this 'extreme action'.

Apparently the differences in the Jama'at's Central Executive surfaced during the Gulf war when Qazi Hussain Ahmad launched a campaign in support of Iraqi President Saddam Hussain in total disregard of his party's stance. "Qazi Sahib is least bothered about Shoora's decision, he believes in popular politics," the late Dr. Asad Gilani, an old-guard hardliner, groused once in a meeting with an Opposition leader.

It was later admitted by Qazi's most trusted men that their Chief flouted the Shoora's decision on the Gulf war. He also realised it at the later stage that he might be causing serious problems for himself if he continued to assert himself this way and this was the feeling which forced him to apologise to his Shoora in the next meeting.

Those who have been closely studying the Jama'at feel that it was perhaps for the first time that members of the Shoora started expressing their resentment against Qazi Hussain in private, though very few showed the courage to resign from the Central Executive Committee as did Mian Tufail and Amir of Okara Ch Nazir Ahmad.

Whereas Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif's statement that the Jama'at's exit from the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] was Qazi's decision and not of the Shoora of the Jama'at-i-Islami annoyed the Jama'at members a lot, it also left a serious point to ponder whether the party Chief outweighs decisions of the Shoora.

The letter Mian Tufail addressed to the members of the Shoora was enough evidence of Qazi's defiance of party decisions on various issues. He went to the extent of saying that it was the latitude given by them that the present leadership of the Jama'at compromised with the Government on the Shariat issue.

It was the Jama'at legislators supporting the Nawaz Sharif Government on what many believe a 'crippled Shariat Act' that caused Mian Tufail to reprimand his successor both in the Shoora and outside it at a public

meeting at Mochi Gate where he accused the members of Parliament of committing rebellion against Allah, the Almighty.

What really pinched Mian Tufail was President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's blunt reply that "Mian sahib, I had no choice to sign the Shariat Act which was passed by Parliament. Why don't you ask your own party men who supported the government at the time of the legislation?" He was also rendered speechless when a similar answer came from Interior Minister Ch Shujaat Hussain.

Knowing that he would be able to control the emotions of the Jama'at's hardcore cadres by taking into confidence his predecessor on this issue, Qazi Hussain approached Mian Tufail and tried to convince him that the Jama'at's MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and Senators were assured by the Prime Minister that their recommendations would be incorporated in the Act later on.

But as regards enforcement of Islamic order, Mian Tufail was not ready to accept anything short of the Federal Shariat Court's verdict about Islamisation. Qazi's arguments carried no weight and he stuck to the idea of expressing his resentment to the members of the Shoorā. He finally decided to resign his membership when Shoorā voted down his opinion in the next meeting.

Mian Tufail Muhammad's and Ch Nazir Ahmad's resignations have caused a serious setback for Qazi Hussain Ahmad and his proteges at a stage when the Jama'at chief is up for his first re-election as Amir. After the exit of Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi and his followers over 35 years ago, this is potentially the most serious split in the party.

There was a very strong feeling among Jama'at members and sympathisers that Qazi's penchant for popular politics was taking the Jama'at far from its basic ideology and that resulted into serious groupings within the party, though they preferred to remain quiet rather than criticising their Amir in public as had been indicated by Okara's Amir in his resignation to Punjab Amir Hafiz Idrees Ahmad.

The formation of Pasban and the activities of Qazi Hussain Ahmad from its platform also annoyed even the Jama'at ordinary workers for whom it was not convincing at all that the Qazi was organising its shows as Pasban Chairman and not as Jama'at Amir. That the powerful student wing, the Islami Jamiat Tulaba [IJT], is also upset is ironic because it had such high hopes from Qazi, the first Amir to have started out as an IJT member, and who has surrounded himself with former IJT stalwarts of the 1970s and early 1980s. Whatever was their approach towards Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam, right or wrong, the hardcore was not ready to change it merely for the Amir's whims. Qazi Hussain's offering *fateha* at the Mazar-i-Quaid could arouse sympathies for him among others but not in the Jama'at's own workers and cadres.

The Jama'at leaders were more offended because the Jama'at Chief took undue advantage of the Shoorā's recommendations about the Pasban and went far ahead in publicising his 'commando force' on the pattern the Jama'at-i-Islami had been averse to. He has also been accused of using Pasban as a platform for his canvassing for the next term. Under the Jama'at election procedure, no one is allowed to put forward his nomination, or canvass for himself. Three nominations are made by the Shoorā, and members have the right of a write-in vote.

The only purpose Mian Tufail and Ch. Nazir's resignations have served is the suspension of Pasban programmes, reportedly up until the election of new Jama'at Amir due by the end of the next month. In the past fortnight Pasban programmes arranged at different places have all been converted into Jama'at rallies.

When Qazi Hussain took over as Amir, he was considered the party's 'Gorbachev', the representative of a younger generation, with an implied mandate to bring a breath of fresh air to the party. However, Gorbachev's *glasnost* led to the destruction of the U.S.S.R. The hardliners point to this and wonder whether this is the path Qazi is leading them on.

On the other hand, Qazi's supporters note the fate of the Communist hardliners, whose coup attempts failed so abysmally. The battle lines are slowly drawing up, though there is as yet no overt challenge. That would only come if the hardliners throw their support behind an alternative to Qazi—which has not yet happened.

PPP, JI Said Ready To Confront Sharif Government

93AS0006A Karachi AKBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
24 Aug 92 p 13

[Article by Sheikh Haq-Nawaz: "The People's Party Is Changing Its Strategy After Successful Rallies; Jamaat-i-Islami Has Made Preparations for Confrontation With the Authorities"]

[Text] During the past few years, Independence Day has been celebrated in the provincial capital in an atmosphere of intense political struggle. The reason is that due to the extraordinary importance of the day, both the party in office and the opposition try to demonstrate their national political feelings before the people; consequently, they make preparations for such large scale gatherings as to raise fears of clashes.

This year, PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] and the ruling Muslim League party formally announced the opening of their party conventions, immediately raising speculation among serious political circles that these meetings, held at the same time and in the same city, would become a show of power of the country's most important political forces. Having studied the situation, the Muslim League postponed its party convention with the statement that the Muslim League, which was the creator of Pakistan and the party

in office, did not want any unpleasantness on the sacred day of independence; that the League wanted Independence Day to be celebrated with pomp and circumstance and was strongly opposed to any disturbances on that day and disapproved of any confrontation or unpleasantness. Muslim League authorities not only announced the postponement of their own party convention but also urged PPP and Jamaat-i-Islami to take similar steps; but the two parties refused to make any changes in their programs and in turn asked the Muslim League to carry out its announced program and not to change its mind. The opposition party attributed the Muslim League's retreat to its weakness and said that the Muslim League had been forced to postpone its party convention because it realized that it would not succeed in drawing participants to its convention.

The fact is that from the day that the Muslim League announced the holding of its party convention at Minar-e-Pakistan, its rival political parties bombarded it with various charges and fired such shots at it that the League was forced to assume a defensive position. Jamaat-i-Islami in particular launched such a strong attack on the League in regard to the stratagems employed to ensure the success of the party convention that the League authorities were forced to prove that they were not utilizing official facilities for the success of their party convention but were using funds solicited from League leaders and members.

The opposition party attached great importance to its public gathering in Lahore on Pakistan Day because the success of its recent gathering in Mangura was greater than expected and had raised the party's hopes. Thus, the party considered it necessary to prepare a full public gathering at the country's most sensitive area and to maintain or even increase the tempo of political pressure on the League, thus making it somewhat easier to reach the opposition's goal. One reason that the opposition party has chosen the path of protest gatherings is that it has lost all hope of reaching a compromise through negotiation with the League authorities and the opposition hopes that by taking this route, it might be able to solve to a certain extent some of the problems with which it has been struggling for the last 19 months. Opposition party leader Benazir Bhutto has closed the door on negotiations with League authorities and taken to protest demonstrations on the streets thus proving that she wants to see change come about in the same manner that it has always done here. Her statements also are becoming tinged with extremism and she is saying what a political rival says at the final battle with opponents. She is also openly challenging those secret agencies that play a basic role here in shaping violent changes. Before attending Pakistan Day celebrations, Bhutto talked with journalists here and challenged the country's secret agencies to produce any tape they might have of a secret conversation between her and Rajiv Gandhi so that the people might know what she had said to Rajiv Gandhi. It is Bhutto's contention that the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and the secret agencies conducted

false propaganda in order to malign her politically and if they had in fact possessed any tape of a conversation between her and Gandhi, it would have been made public at the time of her dismissal from office. Benazir Bhutto is now ready for a test of strength with these agencies as well as with the government. She is convinced that these agencies played a special role in bringing about the demise of her government.

The recent statement in a special press conference of Sardar Farooq Laghari, deputy leader of the opposition party, to the effect that the activities of secret agencies would be brought up for discussion in the national assembly was undoubtedly at Bhutto's behest. Her complaint is that the secret agencies are still engaged in activity against her and that they had instigated the 5 MNAs [members of National Assembly] and dropped them in the lap of League authorities. These alleged activities of the agencies have given Bhutto fresh cause for complaint and she has now challenged Ittehad leaders and the secret agencies to make public any tapes they might have of conversations between her and Rajiv Gandhi.

This Independence Day, Jamaat-i-Islami held a public gathering in its individual capacity under the banner of Pasban Tanzeem [guardian organization] at the historic meeting place in the garden outside Mochi Darwaza. Jamaat felt it necessary to hold such a meeting in order to show its strength to the League authorities and emphasize the point that in spite of separating from IJI, it had sufficient party strength to assert its strong identity in the political field. After separation from Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad, Jamaat's central leaders have continually reiterated their stand that they were disgusted with Ittehad policies and would present themselves to the nation as an alternative choice for leadership; the recent gathering was a practical demonstration of this claim and also showed to their rivals that Jamaat was busy preparing to enter the political arena in its individual capacity. Jamaat's political strength is now so secure that it is beginning to assume the position of accepting the challenge of any fight at any stage. From the day that Jamaat-i-Islami decided that it had to forge ahead as an alternative leader in national politics, its central leadership has been following a program that will systematically bring it to those environs where its true goal lies. Jamaat leadership has, through its Pasban Tanzeem, made such speedy headway among the youth of the nation as to elicit expressions of surprise from its political rivals.

Under the banner of the Pasban Tanzeem, Jamaat has been making invisible inroads in the most important cities of the country's largest province. Through its Tanzeem, Jamaat leadership has been creating an atmosphere against League authorities, which has made the real work of the national opposition, including Jamaat-i-Islami itself, gradually easier. The struggle Jamaat has conducted so far under the banner of Pasban Tanzeem has had the result of raising for the League authorities the same kind of danger from Jamaat-i-Islami, which it faces from the opposition; it appears now that the League

authorities have to marshal their forces on two fronts. All the activities carried out against them on the two fronts affect the League authorities negatively. Public participation in the recent Jamaat-ie-Islami gathering was an encouraging fact and undoubtedly a clear signal to the League authorities that Jamaat was acquiring the ability to confront them as their most effective rival in the next electoral campaign. Jamaat leaders are already bringing to their side those invisible and visible forces, which have the upper hand in the determination of national affairs.

The most important point to emerge from the speech of Jamaat's leader in the Mochi Darwza gathering is that Jamaat-i-Islami was now ready, both mentally and practically, to accept the changes leading to the departure of the present ruling authorities; and the reason was that the true nature of the actions of these rulers had been revealed.

The Independence Day meeting of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] or APC [All Party Conference] proved successful contrary to the expectations of League authorities and has created a political atmosphere in Punjab largely favorable to the opposition. The message conveyed here was that if opposition leaders continued their present activity diligently and seriously, they could succeed in putting sufficient pressure on League authorities to make them amenable to compromise and could convince those forces, which were for certain reasons obstructing better relations with the opposition, that if these forces did not negotiate an understanding with the opposition they would find the going more difficult. It appears that most of the opposition leaders have taken the hint from the [PDA] meeting and are consequently emphasizing the intensification of their current joint effort. The opposition leaders have also agreed upon continuing the series of protest meetings. The new strength gained from the Mangura and Lahore gatherings are showing opposition party leaders the way to a decisive struggle; but a meaningful progress on this path will not be achieved until the internal differences, which still exist within the leadership of the opposition party, are remedied.

Analyst Views Dangers Facing Nation

92AS1537B Karachi JANG in Urdu 29 Aug 92 p 3

[Article by Mirza Muhammad Ilias: "Pakistan: Facing New Dangers"]

[Text] The conditions around Pakistan are changing very fast. Activities at ideological and diplomatic levels are on the rise. Our foreign policy is still ambiguous and unclear. Inside Pakistan, the situation is controlled by political jugglers. The internal and regional changes are giving birth to dangers and fear for Pakistan. India-Pakistan talks over Kashmir, the new war in Afghanistan, steps to keep Pakistan out of Central Asia, changes

in India-China relations, and Pakistan's efforts to protect its interests are some of the areas that our policy-makers have not reviewed in the light of the changing world situation. The talks with India over the Wooler Barrage have indicated that we are suffering from serious problems in adopting new and independent policies.

It has been our misfortune that political instability has never let us focus on our country's overall interests. Our governments have been so weak that they are defeated even in "drawing room politics." Expecting such weak governments to form strong policies or take solid actions would be in vain. This disappointment has been disastrous for our nation and the people. We cannot ignore the problem that Pakistan is facing at the ideological front. One faction is trying to weaken the fundamentalist Islamic power in Pakistan, and it wants the people of Pakistan to break ties to its past. However, the solutions that are presented in this context are not any more potent than Waris Shah and Bullay Shah's poetry. What could be better than finding a solution to Pakistan's social, racial, economic, and political problems in the poetry of these two poets? However, those talks about new-age agreements should also keep in mind that tomorrow they will declare this impractical solution yet another cause of the failure of our society. In the eyes of the West and the United States, Pakistan is the only country in which the Islamic movement could result in the resurrection of Islam all over the world. Therefore, the slogans against fundamentalism are mainly focused against Pakistan. It is said that any revolutionary movement that is backed by Pakistan will be successful. However, the greatest controversy is that Pakistan has failed to protect the Islamic ideology at home and it should not be accused of fundamentalism.

Just because we see love for Islam and its basic principles in Pakistan, we cannot call it a fundamentalist nation. Fundamentalism is just another name for extremism and terrorism. Not only Pakistan, but the Muslim religion itself opposes such actions. The West, by the practice of simply calling Islam fundamentalist, is actually making the religion of Islam suspect. This way, the West can counter the fear caused by the success of Islam. The fear that the West feels from Islam is based on this respect for Islam that some myopic Pakistanis are bent upon sabotaging. They want to appease the West by adopting Hindu-like customs. The discerning Pakistanis should recognize the fact that the fundamentalist slogans are being used for destroying social structure and eliminating Pakistan's cultural identity. The next step would be attainment of their goals. There will be the issue of giving new rights to the states. This way, these people are trying to open a new Pandora's box in which there is nothing for the patriots and all they have is chaos and regionalism.

The defeat on the cultural and social front is affecting our foreign policy. We are slowly forgetting our religious and national interests. We have not even paid attention to the improving relations between India and the Arab nations. We should be worried about India's plans to

establish cooperation for naval bases with the Gulf countries. Further, after the United States and India's joint naval exercises, China and India's military cooperation is an indicator of the new developments in this area. Even though investors have decided to go to China, fearing the internal strife in India, the fact that India has managed to isolate Pakistan in this region is a cause of serious concern. It appears that India will accept Pakistan's proposal for a five-nation conference, after some changes. When they all sit at the negotiating table, Pakistan will be alone. China, Russia, and the United States will associate Pakistan's nuclear program with the fundamentalist movement and will try to force Pakistan to implement the "new social contract." These powers under this contract will require that Pakistan not follow a policy at any level that gives an important role to Islam.

The new repeated rhetoric by Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali and the government's talks about making the Koranic law the supreme law of our nation indicate that Islam will be mocked and insulted once again. The present campaign also shows us the thinking of our leaders in connection with the new social contract. They think that the new social contract can be implemented without bringing Benazir back. The present situation definitely worries the people who care for our country. It appears that the leaders who had been taking advantage of the people are joined by new forces to which the people were looking with expectations.

The other deplorable example of Pakistan's foreign policy is the Kashmir issue. In spite of the fact that we declare occupied Kashmir a disputed territory and oppose India's claim that Kashmir is an integral part of it, we let India implement such programs in occupied Kashmir that a country can do only within its own borders. The Wooler Barrage issue was an important political card during the Benazir era. The card became stronger because it was the issue of Pakistan's welfare and development. The Benazir government had to stop negotiations over this issue. However, the present government that supported stopping the Wooler Barrage, has emerged in a deplorable role. Its action is not only wrong but also dangerous. India has been given permission to build this barrage if it changes its name from Wooler Barrage to something else! Mr. Ponniger has worked out the details for it. We wonder if Pakistan has already accepted India's sovereignty! Has it canceled the Sindh-Tas agreement and backed out of its stand on Kashmir?

The situation is changing very fast and we have not even decided our goals and mission. We request our government to stop experimenting any further and not to bow down over religious or national interests. Our ideology and the Islamic identification of our Pakistani culture are recognized bases of a successful foreign policy, and we must not compromise these. We must try our best to analyze what Pakistan's interests are so that the candle of hope for the Muslims of the whole world remain

burning. This is also the life of Pakistani Muslims and the hope of survival for everyone in the world who loves independence and freedom.

National Assembly Said Ignoring Serious Issues

92AS1550A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
15 Sep 92 p 2

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "A Slipdown to Non-Seriousness"]

[Text] The National Assembly [NA] has completed 96 working days during the current parliamentary year at the close of the 13th session and has yet to work for 34 more days to complete the mandatory quota of 130 days.

Before the new parliamentary year of the National Assembly begins on November 3, the 14th session is likely to be convened in the last week of this month.

During its 35-day session, the National Assembly passed only four bills though the backlog of the pending legislative business is quite heavy.

The just-concluded session witnessed not only deterioration in the relationship between the Government and the Opposition but also saw emergence of a state of confrontation between the Speaker and the Opposition.

Political analysts had pinned hopes that there would be a followup of the exchange of letters between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition for national conciliation. But after the Leader of the Opposition Ms. Benazir Bhutto had responded to the letter earlier sent by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, there was no further move from the latter. In fact the two sides slipped further down from each other.

The sword crossing between the two sides took ugly turn on many occasions. The Prime Minister during his three appearances in the National Assembly and one in the joint session of the Parliament did not make any move towards reconciliation with Benazir Bhutto. He rather opted for a hawkish attitude towards the Opposition. Similarly the Opposition leader also used harsh words against the Leader of the House.

During the last session of the National Assembly, the Opposition walked out twice as on both occasions the ruling party and the Speaker had rejected the Opposition MNAs' [members of National Assembly] plea to allow Ms. Bhutto to speak after the address of the Prime Minister.

The first walkout came during the address of the joint-session of the Parliament by the visiting President of Iran Akber Hashemi Rafsanjani. Later the ruling party members submitted a privilege motion in the National Assembly against the PDA [Pakistan Democratic Alliance] Members for violation and contempt of the privileges of the House.

This privilege motion was admitted by the majority votes and referred to a privilege committee. It is said the National Assembly has no previous precedent for taking punitive action against the Members if found guilty of contempt of the House. There are no rules in this regard, nor has the National Assembly adopted the rules on this issue as framed by the mother of the parliaments, that is, the British House of Commons.

The only example extant of an action taken by a Parliament is provided by the Indian Parliament in the case of Mrs Indira Gandhi when she was in the Opposition. The Speaker of the National Assembly in one of his observations in the last session had advised the Members to quote from Pakistani parliamentary practices. Would the parliamentarians have recourse to the Indian Parliamentary practices? This remains to be seen.

The most sordid aspect of the last session of the National Assembly is the lowest ever water-mark in the relations between the Speaker and the PDA MNAs. The Speaker handed down strictures on the conduct of the PDA MNAs. The new rules of procedure adopted by the House amidst fanfare and publicity blitz in their actual implementation have soured the relations between the Speaker and the Opposition. Spurning aside the interpretations put on the rules by three of the leading lawyers Ch Altaf Hussain, Ch Aitzaz Ahsan and Syed Iftikhar Gillani, the Speaker has tended to rely on the interpretations on the rules put by his Secretariat top-notchers.

The Secretary General of the National Assembly has no legal background as he has served for most of his career in Population Planning. Obviously his interpretation of the rules could not be relied upon.

On the concluding day of the 13th session the former Law Minister and confidant of the Leader of the Opposition, Syed Iftikhar Gillani had to remind the Speaker of the grievances of the Opposition. He said: "We have grievances, Mr Speaker! There is a perception in the press that you are going against the Opposition. He said that the rules are to facilitate the proceedings of the House and not hinder its working."

He complained of the antagonistic attitude towards the Opposition and told the speaker: Impartiality should be your hallmark. You are being partial. The Opposition members in their remarks inside the House and at press conferences outside the House have been increasingly speaking of unfair treatment being meted out to the Opposition in the House. It is a paradoxical situation in that that the Prime Minister has been urging the Opposition to bring the issues inside the House but inside the House the Opposition is being prevented from bringing up the issues.

The open confrontation between the Speaker and PDA's Ch Aitzaz Ahsan is indicative of the strained relations between the Speaker and the Opposition.

A part from the walkouts, shouting matches between the members of the two sides and enactment of fish market

scenes inside the House, the last National Assembly session was subject to the quorum syndrome which had become a daily affair. It shred to smithereens the tall claim by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] that it is in absolute majority. For the fact remains that despite asserting the overwhelming majority in the House, the ruling party could not ensure presence of even 54 members. Every day, the lack of quorum in the House was unfailingly pointed out by the PDA. The IJI failed in the test.

And more importantly, the august House did not grapple with the real issues that confront the country. Instead the honourable members focused on the non-issues.

Asif Zardari's Candid Speech to House Applauded
92AS1549G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
9 Sep 92 p 12

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Asif Zardari Impresses"]

[Text] Asif Zardari, the spouse of leader of the opposition in the National Assembly [NA], Ms. Benazir Bhutto, stole the show in the House today when it debated a resolution on the law and order situation in Sindh.

Though Asif is no orator, he impressed his audience in the House and in the galleries with the sheer truth of what he said. He was candid and articulate. There was a note of urgency in his voice when he said, "Wake up! Tomorrow the leadership will be in the hands of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. It's the PPP which is keeping the federation together." But he minced no words in saying that the PPP's hold over the masses might not last long if the sense of deprivation among the Sindhis continued to aggravate.

Asif blasted the government for negotiating the purchase of a luxury plane for the VVIPs at a huge cost of Rs [Rupees] 300 million when the people of Sindh were suffering as a result of the unprecedented floods that had caused a colossal damage to the economy of the province. He said that the Prime Minister had announced a grant of three billion rupees for his constituency while the people of Sindh needed billions of rupees to pull them out of the devastation caused by the floods.

He presented himself as the living example of the injustice of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] which he said had kept him in jail ever since it came to power. He accused the IJI government of playing jokes with judiciary by arresting his witnesses and bringing in Intelligence Bureau [IB] men as witnesses against him.

Asif Zardari attacked both the federal and provincial governments. He held the government responsible for harbouring terrorists. More punching was his accusation that the Chief Minister of Sindh was plotting against "our own army" and the agencies. He referred to the interview of the Corps Commander Karachi to BBC in which he had said that "our hands are tied." About the

economy, he said that the rate of inflation has touched the grand figure of 16 percent and in six months' time it would jump to 20 to 22 percent.

Asif Zardari was applauded by the opposition members for his speech.

Federal Minister of State Asadur Rehman objected to the debate on Sindh making a strange plea that the situation could not be discussed in the House because it was a provincial issue. Thereupon there was another diversion in the debate with several members belonging to the opposition supporting discussion. Finally, the Speaker gave the ruling that when the situation in a province aggravated, the National Assembly could discuss it. He referred to Article 148 and 149 to substantiate his assertion. The Speaker said that if the House passed the resolution, somebody had to take notice of it though it was not binding. "The writ of the National Assembly extends to the whole of Pakistan and to the embassies of Pakistan abroad," he said. Altaf Bhiyo of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] made a pertinent point that when the President sent directives to the Sindh government every week, why the affairs of the province could not be discussed in the National Assembly?

Khurshid Shah of the PDA made a fiery speech. He fulminated against the Federal Government which he said had criminally neglected the province. He said that Sindhi MNAs [members of National Assembly] were considered as third class MNAs and were ignored while allocation of development funds for their respective areas was made. Law Minister Abdul Ghafoor and Minister for Manpower Mohammad Zaman took serious objection to the remarks of Khurshid Shah.

At the outset of the day's proceedings, Maulana Tariq Azim of Sipah-e- Sahaba and Liaquat Baloch of Jamaat-i-Islami came out with their privilege motion arising out of the arrest without warrants of Maulana Azim Tariq at Islamabad airport to prevent him from attending the joint session of Parliament. The Maulana said that although he had assured the authorities that he would not do anything to disturb the joint sitting, he was taken into custody without any warrants. On the request of the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs Ch. Amir Hussain, the Speaker deferred the privilege motion until tomorrow.

Ch. Altaf Hussain of the PDA agitated the point that the parliamentarians were not seated according to warrant of precedence. The leader of the opposition Ms. Bhutto had left for Karachi on Monday night to attend the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Opposition leaders meeting in Karachi. The front benchers of the PDA were also not present.

Sharif Criticized on Consultations With MQM Criminals

93AS0006B Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 20 Aug 92
p 5

[Editorial: "Talks Must Be Held, But Not With Criminals"]

[Text] Although direct talks between the government and the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] leaders have not started as yet, speculation is already rife among national circles. MQM leader Altaf Hussain, who now lives in London, has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of senator Ishtiaq Azhar to hold talks with the government; and the government has entrusted the responsibility of establishing contact with Altaf Hussain to a minister who is now busy making final arrangements for the start of negotiations.

The entire MQM organization should by no means be punished for the illegal and violent behavior of some of its leaders. We tried in the past in these columns to draw the government's attention to the fact that MQM, which enjoys the support of the majority of the Mohajir residents of Karachi and Hyderabad, should not be ignored. Hundreds of thousands of Karachi and Hyderabad residents elected and sent MQM candidates to the assemblies in the hope of finding solutions for their problems and looked to MQM leaders to alleviate their deprivations; it was natural that these people would be disturbed at the action taken against MQM; and the prime minister was aware of this fact when he alluded to his readiness to cooperate with the respectable members of MQM and said that action taken against a number of terrorists did not mean that the government wanted to do away with MQM itself.

It is an undeniable fact that MQM has the same right as other political parties to undertake political activity within the limits of the national constitution and there should be no interference with this right. At the same time, those MQM leaders and members who, during the Sindh operation, were proved to have been involved in illegal activities should not be given any special treatment and should be punished as soon as possible.

The projected talks between the government and MQM should not create the impression that the government is soft on Altaf Hussain or that based on certain political considerations, the government would like to "pardon" those MQM leaders whose participation in criminal activities has been proved. No individual is above the law or justice. Any MQM leader or member, even Altaf Hussain, who is found to have been involved in terrorism and violence should be punished. The importance of holding talks cannot be denied but these talks should be held with those MQM leaders who do not believe in the politics of terrorism; who want to cooperate with the government in restoring law, order, and stability and who are serious in their desire to strengthen peace and order in the province and revitalize social and

economic activity. There should be absolutely no negotiations with those MQM leaders whose hands are red with the blood of innocent people; who made terrorism a common occurrence; who looted citizens; attacked newspaper offices; perpetrated violence against political workers; built torture chambers and set up a state within a state through terrorism and fear. Now that this state within a state built on fear and terrorism has been ended, nothing should be done that would allow its restoration.

We do not believe in extremism and consider compromise and negotiation indispensable to democracy's strength. But there is no democracy or law that countenances negotiations with criminals. Talks should be held with those individuals who accept the viability of the constitution and the laws. There should be no talks with individuals who would destroy the constitution and take the law into their own hands. The interests of the country and the nation and the supremacy of the constitution should take precedence over all else. Talks should certainly be held with the peace-loving and patriotic leaders of MQM, but there should be no negotiations with criminals.

Paper Points to Political Factors Hurting Stock Market

BK0409120692 Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 4 Sep 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Message From the Stock Market"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] President of the Lahore Stock Ghauri has blamed the recent sharp decline in the stock market on the hostile exchange of statements between the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and the opposition. According to him, stock market investments amounted to Rs. [rupees] 63 billion in May 1991, which climbed to Rs. 202 billion in May 1992; but the latest figure has come down to Rs. 180 billion for no apparent reason. He thinks that international recession and the crisis in the textile market do not sufficiently account for what has happened to a market that was set to move forward, given Pakistan's level of deregulation, under the IJI government. President [of the] Lahore Stock Exchange is, therefore, more inclined to think that it is the IJI-opposition struggle and its abusive and threatening style that has taken the market downwards.

Although India faces a civil-warlike situation in some of its states, it is Pakistan which is politically more unstable. The market has accepted the arrangement of power in Islamabad in the form of a 'troika' that is supposed to impart predictability in the country's economic functions. It is the recent perception of instability in this arrangement at the Centre that has registered an adverse impression in the private sector. The intensification of the opposition rhetoric against the Centre is being seen as directly linked to the disturbance of the trilateral balance in Islamabad. In response to this 'revival' of the opposition groups, (not least among them

the IJI splinters now articulating a decisive rejection of the government), the IJI politicians have unleashed an equally violent verbal assault against their opponents. This time, the exchange of vitriolic statements is more frightening to the businessman and investor than before. Apart from the fear that the IJI may have lost its two-thirds majority in the legislature to give constitutional support to its free-market reform, there are fears that it may be ousted from power. IJI's latest inclination to submit to fundamentalist pressure and introduce further Islamisation, has compounded the risk posed to the economy by the verdicts of the Federal Shariat Court. Political divisions are today more violent than a year ago when the stock market picked up in Pakistan. The liberal society a non-fundamentalist Mian Nawaz Sharif was to ensure in parallel to his liberal economic reform is now seen to be eroding in the face of a new religious extremism bolstered by the IJI politicians. Unless the IJI wakes up to these fears and risks, the economic functions in Pakistan will start declining even more pronouncedly. Foreign finance and foreign participation will be the first to flee; that will be followed by an internal collapse in the private sector. The message from the stock market should, therefore, be taken seriously.

MQM Decides on Dates for Talks With Government

92AS1550D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
15 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Azizullah Sharif: "MQM Sets Deadline for Talks With Govt"]

[Text] Karachi, Sept 14: The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] has reportedly set a deadline for the government to hold dialogue with its 3-member team which is headed by Senator Ishtiaq Azhar and includes former Mayor of Karachi Dr. Farooq Sattar and Master Haider Ali as its members.

The MQM sources said that the MQM Chief Altaf Hussain had asked the Senator Ishtiaq Azhar to wait for the government's invitation for holding negotiations only by Sept 19 and if the government failed to hold talks with the MQM's team by the date then the Movement will decide its future line of action.

When asked that what could be the future line of action if the government did not give weight to their deadline, the sources said that though it was not yet finalised but there were chances of joining hands with the opposition, most probably the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), by MQM.

He, however, said that final decision in this regard will be taken at a meeting of the central cabinet of the Movement to be convened soon after the expiry of the deadline.

Meanwhile, an MQM spokesman, the former Mayor of Karachi and an ex-MNA [member of National Assembly], Dr. Mohammad Farooq Sattar said that

Senator Ishtiaq Azhar had told him that the Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif might be forming a committee for holding talks with the MQM committee for bringing a rapprochement.

Asked whether the government will make arrangements for him and Master Haider Ali for taking them to Islamabad in case the government decides to invite the MQM committee for talks, the former mayor said that it depends on the government.

PDA Blames Sindh Government for Harboring Terrorists

92AS1549A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
9 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "'Sindh Government Patronising Terrorists, Criminals'"]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 8: Opposition PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members from Sindh in the National Assembly [NA] on Tuesday lashed out at the government, accusing it of protecting a minority government in the province which itself was harbouring terrorists and criminals to use them to advance its political purposes.

They made these allegations during discussion on a resolution moved by Chaudhary Altaf Hussain, PDA member from Jhelum, saying the Sindh government had utterly failed to control the law and order situation in the province.

The fiercest attack came from Asif Ali Zardari, husband of the leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto, who alleged that the Intelligence Agencies, specially the IB [Intelligence Bureau] were hatching conspiracies against those who were trying to solve the law and order problem in Sindh, a veiled reference to Pakistan Army.

The jailed MNA [member of National Assembly], who was aggressive, articulate and forthright in his speech also alleged that the Chief Minister House in Karachi had been turned into a sanctuary of terrorists and dacoits. These dacoits, terrorists and some of the secret agencies are hatching plots against army.

Mr. Zardari also alleged that the name of Jam Mashooq Ali, son of late Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali, was in the list of those wanted by the Army for their involvement in the criminal activities, but he was being protected. Similarly, he said other MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] who were wanted by the law enforcing agencies, have been provided shelter by the Chief Minister who wanted to use them to increase his numerical strength in the provincial assembly.

Mr. Zardari said, in the present age of modern communication people were well informed about the real happenings but the government was vainly trying to hoodwink them by installing a "puppet" government in Sindh. He questioned as to what price the country was

paying for efforts aimed at trying to keep the Muzaffar Shah government in power. Mr. Zardari said IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] rulers were not understanding the ground realities. He said Sindh had reached this dangerous stage because of social and political deprivations.

Mr. Zardari was of the view that if rulers persisted in their efforts to overlook the real issues, the situation would further worsen. He said God forbid if the country disintegrates the IJI people would just go anywhere but we would not migrate to any other place as our destiny is with the people of Pakistan.

Mr. Zardari alleged that due to floods in Sindh many of the dacoits and terrorists have crossed over to Punjab and some have even gone abroad. "Some are even boarding in five star hotels in Dubai at government expense," he claimed.

Our economy, Mr. Zardari said, was in shambles largely because investors were shy to invest due to deteriorating law and order situation in the province.

Syed Khurshid Shah Rafiq Ahmad Mahesar and Altaf Bhaiyo, all PDA members were also critical of the law and order in the province and warned that the situation could take a serious turn after the withdrawal of army to barracks. They regretted that big fish among dacoits and terrorists were still at large.

Law Minister Ch. Abdul Ghafoor and JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] member Raja Mohammad Zaheer Khan did not agree with the wording of the resolution and said the situation in the interior of Sindh had improved and journey on highways even during night was now safe.

Chief Whip of IJI and Minister of State Asadur Rehman while opposing the resolution said the law and order was a provincial subject and as such the resolution could not be adopted by the National Assembly. Ch. Altaf Hussain of PDA, however, came up with quotations from the constitution to prove that the federal government could intervene to protect a province against external or internal disturbances and to ensure that the government of the province was carried on in accordance with the constitution.

Speaker, Gohar Ayub Khan was in agreement with the interpretation of Ch. Altaf Hussain and said the National Assembly had been empowered by the Constitution to discuss such issues.

Sindhi Press Says SAARC Headed Right

92AS1550C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Sep 92 p 4

[Article by Aziz Bughio: "SAARC Seminar: A Step in Right Direction"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] opposition's seminar, organised by PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in Karachi, to consider 'the role of the opposition in Asian societies', dominated

the editorial thinking of the Sindhi Press, during the last week, with a consensus on the view that there was a great need for these states to come closer and evolve a system, thereby resolving irritants and problems of poverty in this region.

Besides, a close rapport among the nations in the economic, political, cultural and social spheres to bring out identical and common trends, was also emphasised to develop similarities in approaches to the problems jointly faced in South Asia, particularly in matters of development. The attitudes of the governments of the day towards opposition parties has been criticised and tolerance and accommodation, basic ingredients for the growth of democracy were also pleaded.

All the important Sindhi dailies including the JAGO and the AWAMI AWAZ (8/9) have published a joint English editorial drafted by the Sindhi Newspaper Editors Council, welcoming the SAARC leaders to Pakistan. The editorial observes that by inviting these opposition leaders, PPP Co-chairperson Ms. Benazir Bhutto "has emblazoned a new horizon of understanding, common perceptions and sharing of ideas on how to institutionalise the role of opposition in guiding the people of South Asian countries towards a better tomorrow."

The editorial says, "it is indeed an irony of fate that South Asian countries which are the cradle of civilisation representing higher human values and tolerance, are at present beset with poverty, intolerance, religions and sectarian polarisation and ethnic turbulence...if the people of South Asian countries take positive steps to undo this heritage, there is no reason that there should not be peace, harmony, prosperity, respect for human rights and tolerance in our respective societies. To just give one example, intermigrants to and from the South Asian countries have also contributed to ethnic, sectarian and terrorist phenomena. If as concerted action is taken by all the countries and cooperate with each other, these phenomena can also be curtailed, if not entirely eliminated. For example, the leaders from India could help a great deal if they can stop clandestine and surreptitious emigration of Indian Muslims to Pakistan who after arriving here on the pretext of visiting their relatives, throw away their Indian passports and buy a Pakistan identity with hardly any cost, with the help of their earlier compatriots and relatives. The leaders of Bangladesh could help a great deal by preventing the Biharis to leave Bangladesh and settle in Pakistan."

Appreciating, Pakistan official protocol praised government's offer to protocol and security to the participating SAARC leaders, the Hilal-i-Pakistan (8/9) believes that this seminar would greatly benefit the states of South Asia in developing mutual understanding and knowing each other's problems and approaches. "Undoubtedly, the government will also receive guidance. Our great need is to develop and ensure democracy in this country for which both the ruling party and opposition party are equally responsible," opines the paper.

The AWAMI AWAZ (9/9) thinks that this seminar is unique in the sense that it would give an opportunity of contact at the people's level when it previously confined to the level of government. This is a very positive and a big step forward, opines the paper. Emphasising the need of closer contacts among those states with lot of commonness in cultures, the paper maintains that this is a requirement in the present circumstances when military blocs and political confrontations are disappearing, being replaced by identity in ideas and approaches by various nations.

The paper also praises the suggestions offered by the SAARC opposition leaders in the seminar about what should be manner of attitudes towards each other to come closer and make progress.

In its editorial comments, the JAGO (9/9) paid tributes to the former Indian Prime Minister for his views and concrete suggestions to understand issues relating to growth of democracy in this region.

According to the paper, V.P. Singh's proposal for social and political democratisation as a pre-condition to genuine political democracy is worth consideration.

His another argument is also of great interest namely that it should not be too much to expect avoidance to generate conflicts among SAARC states when almost all of them were governed by democratic regimes, observes the paper.

The paper complains that, "In Pakistan, Jagirdars and state institutions hindered the smooth development of democratic traditions and in India, the advance of the corporate sector corrupts democracy." According to the paper, "Our Pakistani society is as distant from democracy and democratic nila with their spiritual connections of course, in tact."

The JAGO (12/9) and the AWAMI AWAZ (8/9) have shown concern over the slow progress in the restoration of peace in Sindh inspite of claims for successes of the army operation and have pleaded for measures that could ensure law and order even when the army returns to the barracks. Both the dailies have emphasised the need for reduction in the present confrontation between the government and the opposition and development of some kind of understanding and rapprochement between the two, especially on issues concerning Sindh.

The JAGO says that there is no government genuinely existing in Sindh and whatever shape of it is visible is made up of late Jam group constituted by PPP and MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] men together under horse-trading and coercion. "Logically, this is a government which neither possesses authority to rule nor conducts the affairs. As a result, its all steps would be questionable tomorrow and the people of Sindh consider this state of affairs as an insult to them observes the paper.

The paper believes that whatever credibility was left in the Sindh government, has been taken away by the operation clean-up in which, considerable number of dacoits and terrorists has been compelled to hide with some arrests, killings and catch-up of some arms and ammunition. The paper thinks that this is not going to solve the problems of Sindh which continues to suffer the consequences caused by the imposed solution of the federal government.

The AWAMI AWAZ is of the view that no peace would be restored and maintained if bigger culprits and criminals are not nabbed and that this situation is creating doubts in the minds of the public about the army operation's success. According to the paper, the people suspect the intentions of the government and can see through the game of support of Ch Nisar Ali and Ghulam Haider Wyne behind non-arrest of MQM terrorists and now its return to demonstrations and political activities. The paper, therefore, feels need genuine peace in the province with end in political polarisation.

The JAGO (8/9) condemning what it regards as a scandal in the form of 'Operation-midnight Jackals' involving Brig (Retd) Imtiaz and Maj Aamer observes "This incident reveals full volume of enmity to democracy and proves that the ruling groups want democracy of their liking and not what the people desire for. When President Ishaq failed in the move of no-confidence against Benazir government, he took another course and now this one-way traffic of his mind is taking shape in one form or the other."

Sindh Press: ANP Chief Criticized for Stand on MQM

92AS1549E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
9 Sep 92 p 4

[Article by Aziz Bughio: "Ajmal Khattak's Stand on MQM Shocks Sindhis"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Issues relating to Sindh including MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], army operation and delay in the announcement of the list of criminals and their protectors in spite of Prime Minister's clear-cut instructions to the Sindh Chief Minister, continue to be discussed in the Sindh press.

At a time when the people of the province and their press were accusing the government of what was described as undue leniency to the proven terrorist MQM and of appeasing this ethnic group under the pretext of a dialogue with its "saner elements," a kind of certificate by ANP [Awami National party] chief, Ajmal Khattak at press conference in Quetta to the effect that MQM was a terrorist party, has come as a shock to the people. The main cause of the surprise emanates from the fact that this claim has come from an intellectual and a progressive person like Ajmal Khattak who had the reputation of not yielding to the pressure of reactionary and other such forces who have exploited the people in the name of

Islam. As a result of his bold stand, he suffered considerably including a self exile for many years.

The HILAL-I-PAKISTAN (5/9) says: "Mr. Ajmal Khattak may remain with or separate from Altaf Hussain, it is up to him because that is a democratic right of his party but his attempt to show MQM as a clean organisation will attract attention of the people of Sindh who have gone through the torture of terrorism. The people of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] living in Sindh are also witness to this fact and know what had happened here following the emergence of this group. One can only feel sorry on the attitude of this leader of Sarhad on his failure to see clear proofs such as rendering of urban Sindh as hostage after bloody ethnic language riots of 1988 and 1990 and unearthing of torture cells and centres of gang-rapes, by the army operation in Sindh."

Referring to Ajmal Khattak's criticism of Jamaat-i-Islami's [JI] interference in Afghanistan's affairs, the paper observes that his party sided with MQM because it received tough opposition from the Jamaat. "But just as he wants to keep away Jamaat-i-Islami from Afghanistan, he should similarly, remain away from interfering in Sindh's affairs," argues the paper.

The JAGO (5/9) feels that this behavior of Ajmal Khattak has brought forth a basic cleverness or skill among many skills with the ruling elite in Pakistan to strengthen its solidarity in their own way. "And it is this that all illegal methods to make allies for Punjab's powerful groups may be used. Not only Nawaz Sharif may come out of his traditional claim of protecting Punjab's interests he may reduce the use of his usual boast of Islam and ideology of Pakistan and be associated with ANP and ethnic group like MQM but ANP should also remove the cover of nationalism from its face... Before the present difficult time of MQM, an alliance among Punjabi, Muhajir and Pathan was struck whose continuation is presently being sought. And Ajmal Khattak, on abandoning principles and ideals, is now speaking the language of this alliance made for the exploitative forces." According to the paper, this shows "how successfully resident Ghulam Ishaq Khan has done the job of connecting the ruling and powerful forces of the Punjab and the Pathan nationalist leadership together."

Tracing the history of the alliance of the above mentioned forces in the wider context of Pakistan's history, the paper says that "in the beginning Punjabi Chaudhry and Urdu bureaucracy achieved dominance" and this continued till the time the Sindhis and Baloch saw through the game. An attempt was made to deceive the opponents by inducting Sindhi Wadero and Jagirdar but this could not work for long. "When Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced a different culture of politics, the entire balance of rulers' power received a jolt. To protect the old balance of power, General Zia's eleven-year long martial law was established which, through drug-mafia, bureaucracy and fascist groups, got revitalised acts like

'Jihad,' and terrorism under state patronage. Thus Benazir government could not last long."

List of Criminals

Sindh government's failure to make the list of criminals and their protectors public, has once again been taken notice of by the dailies JAGO and the KAWISH (6/9).

The JAGO says that "the government's silence on this issue has strengthened the assumption that some of the criminals are in the ruling group. Not a single spokesman of the government has so far come forward to say that criminals do not exist in the government." The paper believes that this official silence has damaged the reputation and credibility of the government besides embarrassing the people with an impression that they are being ruled, among others, by the accused elements. "What a sorry and shocking state of affairs that democracy coming to the share of the people is run by the accused persons," regrets the paper.

The paper urges the government to issue the list of criminals without any delay and in such a clean manner that no one entertains any doubt about its genuineness.

The KAWISH quotes a Gulf newspaper as having disclosed that if this list is made public, Muzaffar Shah government would fall next day. On one hand, "there is a question of the prestige of the operation conductors and the restoration of peace and on the other, Sindh government feels need to exist," comments the paper. The paper, however, is of the view, that Sindh's interest should be above everything and as such, the list should be made known regardless of the influence and social status of those involved. The list must come out even if it causes end of Sindh government, concludes the paper.

The AWAMI AWAZ (6/9) pleads for disclosure of the crimes and accusations whenever any individual is arrested or taken in official custody because, according to the paper, absence of clear-cut mention of the allegations will render the accused innocent and oppressed in the eyes of the people.

Lack of Leadership in Sindh Affairs Criticized

92AS1521E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Is the Moving Finger Deleting Instead of Writing?"]

[Text] The delay in moving against those who, for all practical purposes would be rated as proclaimed offenders in Sindh, allegedly because of indecision (or deep differences?) in higher quarters has now deteriorated from a bad joke to a smelly scandal. At his press conference in Karachi last Thursday, Premier Nawaz Sharif expressed his intense consternation over the delay in proceeding against the known criminal elements. He could have left Sindh Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Shah in no doubt about his displeasure over what

appeared to be an interruption in the progress of the clean-up operation by the army. Unhappily, the PM's [Prime Minister] stern words were not quite correctly understood in a section of the Press. But that was by the way. The point which should cause grave concern is that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's clear and categorical instructions to the Sindh CM [Chief Minister] are being trifled with in a manner which leaves all concerned profoundly compromised.

Where is the delay and why?

We know that the Prime Minister feels most strongly about this matter and wants action to be taken without fear or favour. He has also demonstrated that he is willing, ready and able to pay the political price for principled action. The loss of some solid MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] support, as a result of some recent events in Karachi, has been borne by him with some commendable stoicism. It is reasonable to assume that when he advised Sindh CM Shah to get cracking, he meant it. Let us confidently conclude that the delay in action, the PM's publicly proclaimed instructions notwithstanding, cannot, or can no longer be blamed upon Mr. Nawaz Sharif. Common sense leads to the conclusion that the army is not enjoying itself in being stuck in its tracks. So, whoever is behind this dithering, it is most certainly not the army authorities and those law enforcing agencies assisting the army.

So, logically, it appears to be totally safe that if there is any mysterious hand holding up the process of law and arresting the progress of the clean-up operation, it is not that of the Prime Minister, nor that of the army command.

Who, then?

If the Sindh Chief Minister has so far failed to act, there can be only two possible explanations: one, he is not willing to act as he should in good conscience; two, Mr. Shah is willing but not able to. Should the former possibility be the real case, surely Mr. Shah can make his position clear to the public now disturbed by the darkest fears. The mystery deepens if it is believed that Sindh Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Shah is keen to act as so firmly instructed by the Prime Minister but finds his hands tied by powers stronger than he is. Who that power can be? A million dollar question, isn't it?

Before this matter is closed for the moment, one might ask in passing if the army is legally or in any other way obliged to wait for signals which are taking so unduly long in coming? The action taken by them so far in Sindh, including Karachi, apparently required no formalities of the kind now awaited from the office of the Chief Minister of Sindh who presides over the clean-up operation.

Sindh: Commentary Views Army Operation Axioms*92AS1521B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 4*

[Commentary by Aziz Bughio: "Army Operation Needs To Be Free, Meaningful"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The law and order situation in Sindh and MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] factor have again echoed in the Sindh press which, in spite of official clarification, considers the Prime Minister as dissatisfied with the clean-up operation in the Province. Another aspect of the issue interlinked with the provincial peace and tranquility causing concern to the press is what is described as the revival of the activities of the MQM after a little lull in the political atmosphere of the urban areas.

The JAGO and the AWAMI AWAZ (30/8) editorially feel that there is some serious lack of communication and difference of opinion between the government and the army on the strategy to realise objective of the operation which is hindering its smooth sailing in Sindh. The papers fear that, God forbid, if the objective is not achieved and the army returns, it would be a catastrophic situation for this province, as far as restoration of peace is concerned, because the army is the last hope.

The JAGO thinks that the message of dissatisfaction of the Prime Minister behind its address to the Sindh Chief Minister was actually meant for Sindh Corps Commander Gen Nasir Akhtar or Gen Asif who do not seem to be giving what are positive results to the government. "As such, the issue assumes unusual importance," opines the paper.

According to the paper, the confidence of the Prime Minister to give such a bold remark is indicative of equally abnormal development. "This expression of his dissatisfaction has several meanings. Firstly, when PPP [Pakistan People's Party] was being cornered during Jam days and under Muzaffar Shah before operation Islamabad seemed satisfied although the law and order situation was much worse than now," argues the paper.

According to the paper, the very intension of the operation is now being questioned by the people.

As regards the Prime Minister, personal leanings, it is very clear as "he calls Ms Benazir Bhutto enemy of the country without any proof, saying that he has evidence of his allegation which he will reveal at an appropriate time." The paper says: "This also means that, in his opinion, PPP's men in Sindh should be held although hundreds and thousands men of this party continued to be arrested during 11 years of Zia regime and during the days of caretaker PM [Prime Minister] Mr. Jatoi and Mian Nawaz Sharif."

On the question of much-talked of list also, the paper wonders if it is the old disputed one between the army

and the civil administration according to which many influential persons in the government were to be nabbed.

The AWAMI AWAZ attaches more importance to the complaint made by Corps Commander Akhtar in an interview to BBC namely that had their hands been free, the politicians involved in the crimes could have been arrested. Referring to the official contradiction of the Prime Minister's reported dissatisfaction, the paper observes that if it means that Nawaz Sharif is satisfied with the operation, then the army has completed the job entrusted to it. The paper refuses to accept this position and consider as true what Gen Nasir Akhtar had maintained.

To prove its contention, the paper alleges that as yet no action has been taken against the known criminals, kidnappers, killers, terrorists and their protectors and patharidars and "those who raped women under the supervision of Karachi's CIA [Crime Investigation Agency], owners of MQM's torture cells and murderers of Sindhis including story-writer Aftab Nizamani, student leaders Abdur Rahman of Badin and Mahboob Ali of Tharo Shah and Punhal Bughio, brother of labour leader Qasim Bughio," the paper urges the government to give free handed to the army to achieve the objective of the clean up operation.

Revival of MQM Activities

The HILAL-I-PAKISTAN (29/8) and the KAWISH (30/8) view the MQM women's activities under the name of Quran Khwani ending up in processions to raise anti-government slogans and against law-enforcing agencies, with concern and fear, as, according to them, these would very cleverly restore and rehabilitate MQM in its original form.

The papers believe that "bringing women folk in front of processions with Quran on their heads and knives under arms" mixed up with trained men in their ranks to fire at the police, is the traditional strategy of MQM in the urban area, to dupe the world on their real designs. The papers, in this connection, point out the incidents of Hyderabad Pucca Qila and a Latifabad procession of women in the past. The papers have expressed fear that these activities under the cover of women, would take the shape of powerful resistance, difficult to control, at later stage.

The HILAL-I-PAKISTAN says that the present strategy would be a rehearsal of a big movement with dangerous conspiracy to frustrate the objectives of clean-up operation of the army. The paper cautions the government against these mischievous designs and urges for strict action.

The KAWISH observes: "When the saner circles join all aspects of the past incidents, a chain of intentions of the future gets shaped up. MQM members offered resignations, then came protesting statements. Then the leaders went underground. The entire leadership wore 'burqa' and only Senator Ishtiaq Azhar, with little raised 'burqa',

began talking. He also first protested against operation and then offered to hold direct dialogue with the army...then gradually they all started speaking, against politicians, army and finally repeated the same activities of their traditional methods roads being blocked, condemning of the government, stoning the police, arrests injuries and killings. The purpose behind the whole drama is to blackmail and achieve their objectives."

The paper ridicules the cries of Altaf Hussain in London appealing to the world to take notice of insults against MQM women in Pakistan and "reminds him of the doings of his dear colleague Salim Shahzad and of revelations of women rape houses in the hospitals under the supervision of his group in Karachi and elsewhere."

According to the paper, another shameful aspect of MQM relates to use women folk for ulterior ends by exposing them to insults and injuries in the form of processions. This is no manner of respecting women, concludes the paper.

Sectarianism

The AWAMI AWAZ and the KAWISH (28/8) have opined that the present government is not competent and morally equipped to find proper remedy of the problem of sectarianism. In this connection, the dailies have referred to, what they allege, a slogan in 1990 elections given by Mian Nawaz Sharif, as the then Punjab Chief Minister, namely "Jag Punjabi Jag Teri pag noon Lag gaya daag."

The AWAMI AWAZ finds the solution in the establishment of true democracy and secularisation in the country. The KAWISH ridicules the dubbing of being Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushto and Balochi as some thing anti-Islamic or against the country. The paper believes that the provinces from where the people received their names of the nationalities existed before Pakistan came into being and as such, they were the part of history and very much relevant in the present context.

Peshawar Justice's Supreme Court Appointment Opposed

92AS1521D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 5

[Text] Peshawar, Aug 31: The appointment of Supreme Court Judge Justice Wali Mohammad Khan was challenged through a writ petition in the Peshawar High Court by Saeed Ahmad Khan through Barrister Masud Kausar, leader of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party].

It has been alleged in the petition that the elevation of Justice Wali Mohammad Khan to the Supreme Court from the Peshawar High Court was without lawful authority and with no legal effect. It was prayed that he be restrained from acting as judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

It has been stated in the said petition that under Article 177 Clause (2) of the Constitution the respondent was

required to have a minimum experience of five years as judge of the High Court or a 15 years experience as an advocate of a High Court at aggregation.

It has been alleged that Justice Wali Mohammad Khan had not completed five years as judge of the High Court because he was elevated to the Bench in September 1988 but was promoted to the Supreme Court in October 1991.

Another ground of the petitioner is that the promotion was illegal for the reason that the provisions of Article 177 Clause (2) (B) of the Constitution would apply to a person who was a member of the Bar and has practised as an advocate for at least 15 years.

According to the petitioner when Justice Wali Mohammad Khan was elevated to the Bench he ceased to be an advocate and as such Article 177 (2) (B) was not applicable to his case.

The petitioner pointed out that while appointing the respondent as judge of Supreme Court by the President, three senior judges of the Peshawar High Court were bypassed. By doing so, it has been contended, the President had failed to establish a healthy tradition in the superior judiciary of Pakistan.

It has been also contended that those senior judges who were bypassed had earlier struck down the order of the dissolution of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assembly, while one of those judges who sat on that Bench was not confirmed by the President.

It has been further alleged that the said judge was also appointed to preside the Special Court trying cases of politicians under the Holders of Representatives Office (Punishment for Misconduct Order 1977), and PPP leader Iftikhar Gilani was also convicted by the said Court which, according to the petitioner, created an impression in the mind of right-thinking persons that elevation of Wali Mohammad Khan to the Supreme Court has been for considerations not necessarily in the best interest of the judiciary.

Concluding, the petitioner has alleged that the appointment of the respondent as judge of the Supreme Court was also violative of Article 42 of the Constitution and the oath of office taken thereunder.

Judiciary Control: Senate Ratification Recommended

92AS1549F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
9 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by M. Kowkab Iqbal, in the "Opinion" column: "Presidential Control Over Higher Judiciary"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The power of appointment in an Islamic polity is not arbitrary or discretionary. It is a sacred trust, states article 2-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. However, the Constitution of Pakistan itself

does not confirm this position. A look at Part 7 of the Constitution shows that the judges of Federal Shariat Court (including the Chief Justice) serve during the pleasure of the President who can modify their term of appointment which means in actual fact that the President can terminate the service of a Judge whenever he likes. He can also strip a Judge of his judicial office and assign to him any other job, to perform any other function which the President may desire, and may pass such other order which he may like. And this is not all.

Article 203-C of the Constitution further says that if a Judge of the High Court who is appointed to the Federal Shariat Court does not accept the said appointment he shall stand retired. These provisions do not augur well for the independence of the Judiciary and indicate that appointment of a High Court Judge to the Federal Shariat Court has to be either accepted by him or he has to go home.

This is the constitutional position of the Judges of a Court which is assigned the task of upholding and interpreting the Holy Quran and Sunnah. During the period of President Ziaul Haq the Federal Shariat Court declared *Rajam* (stoning to death) to be un-Islamic but after the replacement of its Chairman, the same Court held the punishment of *Rajam* to be absolutely Islamic after review of its earlier judgment. We all know that this review was done when the *Mullas* raised a storm of protest against the earlier judgement of Federal Shariat Court and got its Chairman removed by President Ziaul Haq.

It should therefore be a matter of concern and the President's power of removing a Judge or altering his terms and conditions should be abrogated and the judges of the Federal Shariat Court should be brought at par with the Judges of the High Court and Supreme Court. But this does not mean that the position of the Judges of the High Court and Supreme Court is absolutely enviable.

A similar fate awaits a Judge of the High Court who does not accept transfer to another High Court (which means another Province) and he stands retired. The President is empowered under Article 200 of the Constitution to transfer a judge of High Court to another High Court even against his consent up to a period of two years and on transfer he will get such allowances and privileges which the president may be placed to determine.

These Presidential powers give a lot of leverage to the President to exercise pressure on a High Court Judge. Even the appointment of the High Court Judges is by the President and although under Article 193 of the Constitution of Pakistan, it has to be after consultation with the Chief Justice of Pakistan and the Chief Justice of the concerned High Court apart from the Governor.

However the criticism of these appointments by the Bar Associations and the filing of writ petitions against the same show that the deciding factor is not always the opinion of the Chief Justices. Even the Supreme Court

Judges, according to the Constitution, can be appointed on *ad hoc* basis under Article 182 although *ad hocism* does not fit in with an august institution like the highest Court of the country.

Recently the appointment of a Judge of the Supreme Court has been challenged through a writ petition in the Peshawar High Court on the basis of serious allegation against the President.

This is a most unfortunate state of affairs which falls for making changes in the system and practice of making appointments to the Higher Judiciary and other high offices like that of the Wafaqi Mohtasib. The American system of ratification of appointments of higher Judiciary from the Senate needs to be examined. Will it not be better to subject the Presidential power to the check and control of the Parliament?

Wyne Defends Punjab Police Performance

92AS1521F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 8

[Text] Lahore, Aug 31: The Punjab Assembly on Monday adapted Punjab Local Government Amendment Bill 1992, by rejecting all the amendments moved by the Opposition and members of the Jamaat-i-Islami. The Bill was moved during the last session of the Punjab Assembly.

The Chief Minister, Ghulam Haider Wyne on a call attention notice of Farid Ahmed Paracha, provided an opportunity to explain the Punjab Police performance regarding theft of vehicles. Speaker Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo was in the chair.

The Chief Minister fully defended and appreciated the police working and said the cases of car theft were on the decrease. Referring to the specific incident of snatching away a car at gunpoint on July 31, 1992 from the Cantonment area, the Chief Minister read out report of the SP [Superintendent of Police] Lahore Cantt saying that four armed persons had committed this crime. However, the SP denied that armed dacoits before snatching the car manhandled the car-riders.

Another matter which was raised in the call attention notice was when the victims of the armed dacoity asked a special squad police van for help. Their appeal was turned down, with a word of advice to report the matter to the relevant police station. The Chief Minister said the police were trying to identify the special squad van.

The Chief Minister said the police had recently busted two car lifter gangs and had recovered a number of vehicles from their possession.

Farid Paracha pointed out that the cars recovered from the accused were not handed over to their owners. The Chief Minister expressed his ignorance about such practice. He asked the member to bring such cases to his notice, then he would take action.

Earlier, Rana Sanaullah, a member from the Opposition benches, staged a walkout to protest the decision of the Speaker Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo of killing his attention notice in his chamber. He said the Speaker had set a wrong precedent. His point was that he had submitted a call attention notice, which under rules must have been included in the list. The Speaker was of the view that what he had decided was in accordance with the rules and traditions. Rana Sanaullah not agreeing with the Speaker, staged a walkout.

Rana Ikram Rabbani, leader of the Opposition and Rana Sanaullah in a joint adjournment motion wanted to discuss an armed robbery on The Mall, in which the dacoits took away prize bonds and cash valuing Rs [Rupees] 1.5 million.

Sardar Nasrullah Khan Derashak Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs said that he had directed the police to double their efforts to arrest the culprits.

Punjab Police Force Termed 'Oppressive'

93AS0027C Lahore *THE NATION in English*
(Supplement) 10 Sep 92 p 2

[Editorial: "A Valuable Admission"]

[Text] The Punjab police is renowned for an unenviable but well-deserved reputation as an oppressive force which continues to follow colonial methods for crime detection. Third degree methods (a euphemism for torture) are a long-established and readily applied means for obtaining confessions. The police is a force charged with enforcing the law, but it is also a force which is supposed to uphold and remain within the ambit of the law. Forty five years after the last white colonialist left these shores, the police's attitudes and methods have hardly undergone any change. If anything their arbitrariness, rudeness, corruption, inefficiency and ruthlessness have increased. Apologists for the force point to the lack of facilities and the shortage of educated cadre (except at the officer level) to explain away this abhorrent behaviour. However, nothing in all these explanations can serve to justify the continuing image of the police (an image reflecting reality) as an agency above the law or even a law unto itself. Such is the ethos of the police force that even senior officers appear to be infected by the generalised brutal attitudes displayed towards the citizenry unfortunate enough to fall prey to the tender ministrations of these minions of the law.

How else to explain the amazing statement by the SP [Superintendent of Police] City the other day, in answer to a question from an inquisitive newspaper reporter covering the gruesome murder of a housewife and her two small children in Allama Iqbal Town, that the alleged murderers had not been subjected to third degree. The SP was kind enough to explain that "it was not the sort of case where this could be done." What he failed to enlighten the public on was what sort of case is it in which this could be done? Nor did he bother to point to the relevant law or dispensation which allowed

the police to use third degree in any sort of case. The SP has unwittingly let more out of the bag than perhaps he intended. He has demonstrated that a senior police officer like him can admit the possibility (nay, the probability) of third degree being used in certain kinds of cases. The SP, surprisingly for such a senior officer, seems innocent of knowledge of the law he is charged with upholding, not to mention the legal, civil, and human rights of any accused, no matter how heinous the crime. If it were a case of just one officer being uninformed, remedy would be quick and relatively painless: send the errant SP for a course in the law, or failing that, send him home. But the fact is that that would be an unfair step. Because the poor SP is typical of both the attitudes, habits and methods of the police, as well as their obliviousness of the law and the rights of any accused in custody. To reform such a force is infinitely more difficult than simply acting against the foolish statement of one SP.

Sharif Claims Full Nuclear Capability Achieved

92AS1533A Lahore *NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu* 1 Sep 92
p 1

[News Report: "Nuclear Capability Achieved—Sharif"]

[Text] Jakarta (Special Report)—Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced here that Pakistan has achieved the necessary capabilities in the nuclear field while working on its nuclear program. He said that Pakistan has decided at the highest level that this capability will be used for peaceful purposes only and no nuclear weapons will be made. In addition, Pakistan has decided that it will neither blast a nuclear bomb nor will it transfer this sensitive technology to any other country. However, it was clear that Pakistan was not going to give up its rights unilaterally. Mr. Sharif was giving an interview to an Indonesian daily on Monday.

The prime minister said that Pakistan's nuclear program is for peaceful uses and has proposed repeatedly to make South Asia a nuclear-free region. The prime minister said that Pakistan is willing to accept any fair proposal for nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. He added that efforts were made to give Pakistan a bad name over the "Islamic bomb," even though its nuclear program is peaceful. He expressed the hope that the Nonaligned Movement will consider means to help its member nations prosper and act as a mediator in encouraging cooperation and friendship among them. He said that the Nonaligned Movement will play a very important role in the present international situation.

Commentary on 'Persecution' of Christians

BK2009121592 Delhi *All India Radio General Overseas Service in English* 1010 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Commentary by Ravindranath Sehgal: "The Plight of Christians in Pakistan"]

[Text] The Christians in Pakistan have been facing worse persecution than perhaps their fellow believers did face in the early years of Christianity in Rome. The Roman persecution was mainly physical and the empire made no bones about its aims of annihilating Christians. Pakistani persecution is less physical, but more psychological and socioeconomic. This is sought to be covered by claims that the country's constitution provides equal rights for the minorities. Mr. J. Salek, a Christian member of National Assembly of Pakistan, set fire in public at Lahore on 14 September all his household items in protest against the Islamabad government's callous and indifferent attitude toward mass hunger strike being observed in front of Punjab Assembly building for the last one week by a large number of Christian men and women protesting against the decision of the government to cancel a grant of rupees 6.1 million which had been earmarked in the budget for the development of Christian community. Mr. Salek's action was to highlight the discriminatory attitude of the Pakistani Government toward Christians and for violation of their human rights.

According to a survey conducted by FRONTIER POST of Peshawar and the DAWN of Karachi, Christian community numbering around 3 million who are managing educational institutions in Pakistan are denied education. Their children, particularly males, are discriminated against in this area. A survey adds that they have no jobs if they are illiterate, and are denied job if they are educated. With the rise of religious intolerance, the opportunities for education and employment are dwindling for Christians. Their schools which gave them special term as backward community have been taken over. Orders have also been sent to various hospitals not to offer jobs to Christian women who become nurses. Even their places of worship are not safe. They are being attacked by fanatics under the protection of the Pakistani Government. [Words indistinct] that a small number of women with a better socioeconomic status however get higher education, but the employment opportunities for them are limited to nursing and teaching. Boys who manage to get higher education are working as peons or bearers in hotels. Thus, Christians can get jobs as sweepers and domestic servants. The survey conducted by the FRONTIER POST quoted a

group of Christians as alleging that 15 percent Christian domestic servants are sexually abused and harassed. Although the media coverage and public awareness of such incidents have increased, the government has been slow to respond to or investigate such charges.

Addressing a meeting at Lahore on August 27, 1992, J. Salek said that the National Assembly of Pakistan should be renamed as the religious assembly of Pakistan since its members do not conduct themselves as representatives of their provinces and constituencies, but as representatives of the religious and of the biggest sect of the Islamic religion and spend more time in discussing religious matters than in discussing national problems.

Addressing a meeting of the Pakistan Forum at Lahore, Retired Justice Dr. Javed Iqbal called upon all intellectuals and concerned citizens of Pakistan to make a concerted effort to liberate Islam from those who have made it their slave in order to serve their own vested interests. In an editorial on this subject published on 28 August 1992, the FRONTIER POST of Peshawar has pointed out that in his effort to stave off the opposition challenge, though inefficiently, prime minister Nawaz Sharif has been trying to strangle his political opponents with the Islamic noose as was being done by the late General Ziaul Haq during the martial law regime.

Kashmir News Agency Established in Muzaffarabad

BK1009114192 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Sep 92 p 5

[Text] Muzaffarabad, Sept 8—A news agency has been set up in Azad Kashmir. KASHMIR NEWS AGENCY is the first news agency run in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir including the Indian held parts of the states.

Established in private sector, the agency will be headed by Abdul Hamid, local journalist. Mr. Hamid said the news agency will highlight the Kashmir freedom struggle and will try to create awareness in the world about the human rights violations being committed by India in the occupied Kashmir.

The agency will originally tele-fax its stories to its subscribers.

President's Views on Islamic State Criticized

93AS0027B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
15 Sep 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Creating an Islamic Society"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq's observation that none of the 50 Muslim states has so far been able to present itself to the world as a 'real Islamic state', calls for serious consideration. The scholars and intellectuals must in particular ponder over the issue and identify the lapses and the limitations of the Islamisation drives carried out, in one or the other form, by various Muslim states which, as the president said, have despite 'available resource', tremendous public support and good intentions, failed to produce the desired results. Although different models of Islamisation have been adopted in the Muslim states, commitment to creating an ideal Islamic society has been the universally acknowledged objective among the Muslims the world over. And as the President pointed out, some states have enforced 'Islamic Constitutions', while others have tried to establish 'institutions' in accordance with Islamic teachings. Nonetheless, there still remains a yawning chasm between theory and practice, between what is publicly professed and what is privately adhered to, and a discernible duplicity marks our social behaviour.

Closer to home is the experience of the Islamisation drive in Pakistan, and had the President been satisfied with our own accomplishments in this high-profile exercise which has been on for more than a decade, he would not have been so skeptical about progress toward the stated goal. Unfortunately, the malady that afflicts our endeavour is multifaceted and has roots in the hypocrisy of the ruling elite for whom making political mileage out of Islam is the real purpose rather than removing the roadblocks that have impaired the onward movement towards an Islamic society. Among the ulema there are elements which have a myopic and single-track outlook whose exclusive emphasis is on the 'form' rather than the 'content' and they have no clue, other than enforcing Islamic punishments, as to what form of institutions and processes are required to create an Islamic ethics in various fields of life. As long as we are bogged down in the rituals and fail to grasp the spirit of an Islamic society we will remain confused and uncertain about our destination and continue to work at cross purposes without proclaimed course of action. Ironically, the founding fathers of the Pakistan Movement were absolutely clear in their minds about what they were trying to achieve. And if we wish to follow in their footsteps we must adhere to the guiding principles laid down by Quaid-i-Azam and Iqbal and wholeheartedly commit ourselves to democracy, rule of law and social justice. We will be able to move towards the creation of democratic Islamic welfare society only if we can make everybody equal before law, eradicate corruption from public life and hold our rulers accountable to the people. Those who want to earn laurels for taking the country on the path of

Islamisation must first set a personal example of adherence to an Islamic code of conduct.

Islamic Bloc Urged To Seek U.N. Security Council Seats

93AS0008B Lahore *NAWA-I-WAQT* in Urdu 4 Sep 92
p 11

[Editorial: United Nations Reorganization: Islamic Bloc Should Safeguard Its Interests"]

[Text] During the 10th annual conference of the non-aligned nations, a resolution was passed demanding that the United Nations be reorganized now that the cold war has ended. This proposal will end the increasing monopoly of the West and review the veto rights of the five permanent members of the Security Council. There is a fear that the Security Council will become a puppet in the hands of the big powers. Even though the non-aligned group has failed in principle and in practice to keep these nations nonaligned, the demand by its 108 members to reorganize the United Nations will get attention. After the United Nations, the nonaligned organization is the largest organization in the world. Its expression of dissatisfaction over the United Nations, especially its Security Council, raises concern. After the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the balance of power within the United Nations was destroyed. The decision to declare the Russian Federation the successor to the former Soviet Union is still under consideration. The Russian Federation does not have the clout to challenge the wrong decisions made the United States and other Western nations because it is trying to get U.S. aid and will do anything that the United States wants. The way the Security Council passed various resolutions and the speed which it implemented them at the behest of the United States, even during the presence of the former Soviet Union, openly shows how the United States monopolizes an international organization like the United Nations. Now no one has the courage to oppose the United States. Iraq is repeatedly a target of hostile decisions and Libya is being punished and accused for the Lockerbie crash. Various economic restrictions have been imposed on it and airlines throughout the whole world have stopped flights to Libya. The United Nations has failed to stop the genocide of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The bestial armies of Serbia are busy destroying the independence, freedom, and autonomy of Serbia, and are trying to obliterate all Muslims there. The Security Council did pass some resolutions, but they were just lip service. The United Nations is showing criminal negligence and thinks its duty is limited to passing some resolutions just for show. What is more, the Christian UN secretary general of Jewish descent did not like the outrage expressed by the European nations over this inaction.

The Kashmir issue has been in the limbo in our subcontinent for the last four decades. A belligerent Hindu nation like India, which is dreaming of supremacy in this region, is occupying a major part of Kashmir by using its

military power. These Hindus are killing innocent and righteous Muslim men, women, and old and young people mercilessly. They are also involved in such ugly crimes as mass rapes. Houses are being torn down and fields are burned. The United Nations is silent at this demonstration of bestiality, wickedness, and sins by India. It has passed resolutions in the Security Council for a referendum in Kashmir, but no efforts were made to implement these. It is clear that the United Nations has adopted the role of being an enemy of the Muslims, and the world is facing another "danger of crosses." [sentence as published] It is necessary that we not only reorganize the United Nations as demanded by the nonaligned organization, but also that this demand be made by the Islamic Conference also. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the world has divided into Muslim and non-Muslim blocs. Therefore, Muslim nations must have two seats in the Security Council. We must accelerate our efforts to unite Muslims to form a strong bloc so that Muslim interests are protected in international affairs.

Government Ban on Sectarian Organizations Viewed

92AS1534C Karachi AMN in Urdu 29 Aug 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Ban on Sectarian Parties"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that his government was seriously considering banning sectarian parties because these organizations were spreading hatred. He emphasized the need for "thinking Pakistani."

New restrictions are no solution to any problem. Calling religious parties sectarian and banning them will not achieve anything. The fact that should not be ignored is that nearly all religious parties are operating on a sectarian basis; one party is composed entirely of Devbandis; another of Barelvis; all the members of a third party believe in the Jaafariya Fiqh [Shia] whilst those of a fourth are Ahle Hadith. There is no religious party that enjoys universal appeal and has a large membership composed of all sects. Thus, every religious party could be called sectarian and threatened with a ban. Some religious parties bear the name of sects such as Jamiat-i-Ale-Hadith; Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria; Sunni Tehrik etc.

Sects exist and their existence cannot be denied; moreover, it is not possible to do away with these sects. In view of this fact, how can a sect be forbidden to form its own party? And if restrictions are placed on an already existing sectarian party, how can these restrictions be effectively enforced? Each sect has its own separate mosque and the religious leaders of the various sects control their own mosques. The sects celebrate their own separate religious events and even if any restrictions are placed on their parties, they cannot be prevented from participating in their own functions.

No restrictions should be placed on religious beliefs; people should be free to believe what they please and to carry out religious ceremonies based on their beliefs. An individual's belief should not be ridiculed or denigrated.

Nothing will be gained by banning one or all religious parties; but such a step could create problems of law and order and fan sectarian mania.

If the government thinks that a certain party is spreading hatred, it need not ban that party. There are several laws in existence that make spreading sectarian hatred a crime and these laws should be enforced. It is the fault of the government that these laws have not been enforced and those who spread hatred have been given a free hand.

There are laws for controlling every kind of illegal behavior; unfortunately, the tendency has been not to enforce these laws. Whenever the situation deteriorates, the government does not review the laws already in existence but becomes interested in passing new laws.

Rather than contemplate banning any party, the government should consult with the leaders of the party against which it has a complaint. In regard to sectarian parties, instead of placing restrictions on them, a meeting of their leaders should be called and they should be persuaded to come to an agreement not to criticize each others' beliefs. Such an agreement would automatically end the complaint that certain sectarian or religious parties are spreading hatred. The solution to problems should not be sought in restrictions; positive thought will produce positive results.

As for "thinking Pakistani," at least religious or sectarian parties cannot be accused of propagating a Punjabi, Sindhi, Pakhtun, Balochi or Mohajir way of thought. These parties exhort the people to become good Muslims and do not believe in provincial or regional bias.

Pakistan: Paper Calls for Seeking Alternate Sources of Credit

BK1009143192 Islamabad THE NATION in English
10 Sep 92 p6

[Editorial: "Terminating U.S. Aid"]

[Text] John Stuart Blackton, director of U.S. AID [Agency for International Development] mission in Pakistan has stated that within the next two years all sources of finance from the United States to Pakistan will dry up as a consequence of the Pressler Amendment which links U.S. aid with the nuclear issue by disallowing aid to a country which is involved in gaining nuclear capability. It seems that all explanatory statements by our top executives to U.S. Republicans and Democrats have fallen on deaf ears. The claims that Pakistan was not making a bomb, the claim that Pressler Amendment is discriminatory against Pakistan as no such linkage of aid was evident in the case of Israel and India, and the claim that our nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes or, in other words, for meeting the severe energy shortage domestically seems to have made little impression on U.S. Legislators. And the net result will be that, in two years, as all aid in the pipeline dries up, no new aid will be forthcoming from the U.S. No one knows exactly what are the areas that have been already negatively affected as a consequence, i.e., whether in the field of agriculture and rural development, population control, health, nutrition, human resources, etc., areas that the U.S. aid was involved in, but, it is obvious that lower funding of concessional aid for social sector development would hurt the common man. Not only would the government have to procure alternate sources of finance but also these sources are likely to be from the commercial sector abroad, a fact which is already revealed by our budget revenue targets increasingly relying on expensive foreign loans with a small amortisation period.

Except in political rhetoric there is little disagreement between the top executives that the U.S. aid pipeline must be reopened. The state of the economy bears ample testimony to the need for acquiring concessional aid. And all the statements of self-reliance fall by the wayside in our government's dealings with those who allocate concessional credit to developing countries. It is imperative, therefore, to look for alternative sources of concessional credit and for this the present government has to abandon its policies which raise expenditure beyond the budget limits and lower its revenue than what was envisaged in the budget. A higher budget deficit than announced in the beginning of a year, something which happened last year, must on no account be repeated this year. Unfortunately, only three months after the announcement of the budget the deficit is already much higher than envisaged and it is expected that donor agencies will withdraw their aid packages as a consequence as well.

Privatization Seen Exacerbating Poverty

92AS1548F Karachi DAWN in English 31 Aug 92 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Political Roots of Poverty"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has promised to "launch an extraordinary struggle" to banish poverty along with ignorance as the two are inter-linked. This is certainly a more realistic commitment than his earlier pledge to convert Pakistan into a donor state very soon from the aid-seeker it has been for nearly 40 years.

This is not the first commitment by a Pakistani leader to banish poverty from a country in which 30 to 40 percent of the people live below the poverty line, judging by where you draw that line. In his famous August 11, 1947, address to the Constituent Assembly by the Quaid-i-Azam, on which a seminar was held last week by the Mazdoor Kisan Party in Karachi he had said: "If we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, especially of the masses and the poor".

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 which has become the preamble to the Constitution promises "social, economic and political justice" and a state based on the "Islamic principles of social justice" which abhor excessive concentration of wealth along with endemic absolute poverty.

Successive earlier leaders had paid homage to the poor and promised to abolish poverty. Among them were Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with his promise of *Roti, Kapra aur Makan* and his daughter Ms. Benazir Bhutto who pledged to deliver the same following a different path. But they could not succeed in that overwhelming task. In fact, as governments came and went the absolute number of the poor and the illiterate went on increasing while the rich and the unscrupulous became richer and politically more powerful.

The same has happened in most of the developing countries, particularly in South Asia with its 1.1 billion people or a fifth of the world's population. In India Mrs Indira Gandhi came up with her *Gharibi Hatao* Movement in the 1970s and followed that up with a revised 20-point programme with specific targets in each area, but could not eradicate poverty as 40 to 50 percent of the people there are still living below the poverty line. In Pakistan 30 to 40 percent are said to be living below poverty line. As there are no reliable statistics in this area, Prof. A. M. Khusro, former member of the Indian Planning Commission, came up with a study on "The Poverty of the Poverty Analysis in India". The same goes for Pakistan.

The need for a reasonable standard of living, not through acts of charity or Zakat, is now universally recognised. The U.N.'s International Bill of Human Rights says: "Every one has the right to a standard of living adequate

for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, and other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control".

"The test of any civilisation lies in its treatment of the poor", says Prof. Gerald Meier in his book "Emerging from poverty—the economics that really matters". By that yardstick ours must be one of the poorest society or civilisation, although we pride in being the heirs to the great Islamic civilisation.

In his book "The Nature of Mass Poverty" J. K. Galbraith talks of the "circular causes of poverty—those where the cause and the result are interchangeable" and the "equilibrium of poverty". He says that simplistic or elementary approach to poverty will not do where there is a deeply embedded culture of poverty and ready social and political accommodation to it. That is what is precisely happening in Pakistan. As successive governments talk glibly of eradicating poverty, the deeper causes or the culture of poverty remain unattended to or merely trifled with.

In a society like Pakistan where the waderas, zamindars and tribal chiefs prevail particularly in the rural areas with its illiterate poor "the equilibrium of poverty" is sustained. And when economic clout goes along with political power, as evident from their massive presence in the legislative bodies and cabinets and local bodies, poverty tends to be bypassed. The feudal lords and tribal chiefs cannot really be interested in the education or self-reliance of their farmers. Earlier they were opposed to even roads passing by their areas lest they expose their people to alien egalitarian influences.

In his book "Why the poor people stay poor" Prof. Michael Lipton says that in developing countries, wealth is drained from the countryside where a little investment could produce big increases in desperately needed food production, and channelled into cities where people who are often far better off put it to far less productive uses. As a result, while many of the poorest countries have considerably increased their output of wealth since 1945, the poorest people have grown no richer and have sometimes been thrust into deeper poverty. He talks of the powerful pressure groups in the cities and how they exert pressure on the government and achieve what they seek.

Precisely the same happened in Pakistan during the first 25 to 30 years when we depended too much on imported wheat and neglected domestic agriculture. Since then more has been done to develop the irrigation and communication facilities and to encourage the use of tractors and fertilisers. But most of the benefits have gone to the rich farmers who prefer to live and spend their large earnings in the cities, if not abroad.

"Poverty, unemployment and inequality are related phenomenon that success in solving or reducing one of these

can have a favourable effect on the others", says Prof. Kamta Prasad in his book "Planning for Poverty Alleviation" in India. Prof. Gerald Meier also says "the causes of underdevelopment, inequality and absolute poverty are inter-related, and so too must be policies for their removal". That means to reduce or banish poverty the government, political leaders and social scientists have to work on a very broad front—political, economic, social and cultural. Our religious preachers too should emphasise man's duty to his fellow beings.

Along with such a massive re-structuring of our polity, we have to undertake a good many other things quick. First of all the population explosion at 3.2 percent per annum has to be checked. The population has already hit 120 million.

In the earlier days, migration to work overseas provided some relief; but too little of such outlets are available now when the number of persons entering the job market each year is one million.

Secondly adequate education has to be imparted to the people, and that has to be real quality education.

The employment has to be real, remunerative and productive.

The Prime Minister has great faith in his self-employment schemes whose diversity is increasing. Apart from the Youth Investment Promotion Society (YIPS) for the educated, he has come up with a tax-on-installment scheme which needlessly permits the import of very expensive tax-free taxis which are currently being misused by the rich. But there are limits to self-employment in a small economy, particularly when the poor have collateral and guarantor problems. So self-employment should not be regarded as a major panacea.

The manner in which he has opened up the industrial sector to the private enterprise, the liberal industrial loans, the nearly 100 Modaraba, leasing and private banks and investment banks, and his rural industrialisation policy should increase employment avenues. But when the official Economic Survey says that labour participation remains at a constant 28.83 percent of the population since 1986-87—after it was 30.34 percent in 1969-70—that means that more investment has meant less employment, or we are having too much of investment intensive industries. A sizable number of the workers are illegal immigrants, who send much of their earnings abroad illegally.

The government has now come up with National Rural Support Programme (NRSP) on the lines of the notably successful Agha Khan Rural Support Programme [AKRSP] in the Northern Regions which began in 1983. It would cover 30 districts in the four provinces this year, and 50 districts next year and 90 districts in all in three years. Essentially self supporting and cooperative, but with matching funds from the Aga Khan, the AKRSP has been a success as it covers the followers of Aga Khan

within 10 feet. The land has to be protected from these ravages and scarce water resources for irrigation have to be managed judiciously by minimising water losses through lining of canals, etc.

Although there is a useful on-farm management programme to prevent water logging and salinity, it is neither sufficiently large in size nor has the information on the successes of the programme been widely disseminated. Also, efficiency in the use of inputs can be achieved by tenancy reforms and by decentralisation of planning and implementation at the local/village level.

The government, therefore, has to decide, on an urgent basis, the extent to which, in its opinion, the performance of this sector is critical for the success of its overall economic strategy. After all, it is the largest employer and productivity increases in the sector are crucial for the rest of the economy.

There is little doubt that the importance of agricultural raw materials as industrial inputs has certainly declined with the growth in the subsectors of chemicals, consumer durables, etc. which have a limited linkage with agriculture. Despite this, its importance cannot be wished away considering that cotton and rice either directly or as manufactured products constitute over 75 percent of Pakistan's exports.

The importance of non-price factors, such as consolidation of holdings, technology (whose acquisition the current GATT proposals will make more expensive) public investments in infrastructure—energy, farm to market roads, etc. and institutional arrangements (in the shape of improved extension services to apprise farmers to better farming practices) for raising production cannot be underestimated. Relying solely on price incentives to raise output may lead to a situation in which prices keep rising but the growth impulses in the agriculture sector remain low.

The deadly combination of rising prices, a rapidly growing population, and decelerating output growth will have an adverse impact on the standard of living of the poor whose main item of consumption is food—in particular the landless agricultural labourers, marginal farmers and workers in the urban informal sector. These groups are facing large cuts in their real incomes. In other words, the victims of this strategy of neglect of agricultural investment and output, and rising food prices, will be those already surviving at the margin. In the long run there is hardly any ray of hope for them in this gloomy scenario, even if good weather spares them somewhat in the short run.

Waste Treatment, Alien Concept for Industrialists
92AS1549D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
9 Sep 92 p 3

[Article: "Waste Treatment: An Alien Concept for Industrialists"]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 8: Out of 150 industries surveyed by a research organisation none has a waste treatment plant.

When the investigators of Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), as part of their research programme on environment and sustainable development, contacted the managements of these plants they were stunned to note that administrations of those industrial units were not even aware of what waste treatment meant or whether there existed any such technology.

These revelations were made at a discussion on environment and development arranged by Pakistan Futuristics Institute and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), a German Non-Governmental Organisation. Joint director of PIDE, Dr. A.R. Kemal was the main speaker while Senator Brigadier (Retd.) Malik Mohammad Hayat was the chief guest.

Dr. Kemal delineated the plight of industrial and agriculture sector in Pakistan. He was of the view that private sector industry must be encouraged mainly through subsidies to make a headway in environmental protection.

Renowned economist said that there were not trade offs between environment and development. Leather tanneries in Kasur district have played havoc with the health of people there and stomach diseases are rampant as the waste flowing from these tanneries freely mixed in drinking water without any treatment, he added.

Senator Malik Mohammad Hayat said that no new industry would be allowed to operate in and around Islamabad. He supported the idea that cost of environmental protection should be subsidized.

Dr. Klaus Lennert of FES said people were now aware of environmental issues but the real question was "what can be done?" He said environment had become a political question and it entirely depended on the electorate how it was translated into policies.

Dr. Lennert cited the example of Green Party in Germany which had effectively influenced and shaped the politics of environment. England, he said, had no Green Party and its environment was not so good. He disclosed that European Community had not accepted the standards of drinking water in Great Britain.—APP

Economic Retardation of Azad Kashmir Viewed
92AS1548A Karachi *DAWN in English* 28 Aug 92 p 13

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "AJK: An Economic Appraisal"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Seldom do the economic potentialities and prospects of Azad Kashmir figure in our discussions of the territory. Invariably the accent is on its political future. In newspaper analyses and reports, its physical resources and financial problems do not get the kind of attention and treatment accorded even to the provinces.

This in a sense is a natural and inevitable reaction. Piecemeal and partial development would defeat the very purpose of planning. Planning in its overall perspective has to be integrated and all pervasive to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the population on either side of the artificial divide. Unlike the rest of the Indian Union, the occupied part of the state has been kept in continuous turbulence and turmoil.

While it cannot be held in permanent bondage against the wishes of its people, and sooner or later New Delhi will have to relinquish its hold, the development of the liberated area must not be delayed any further. The benefits of progress is an essential concomitant of the blessings of liberty, for whose realisation their compatriots across the border are engaged in a life and death struggle.

The area of Azad Kashmir is 13,297 sq. kms and its population less than two and a half million. Only 8.1 percent of it being urban, it has an overwhelmingly rural base and background. Its backwardness is reflected in its villages where ninety-two percent of the population lives on a per capita income perhaps half of the national average for Pakistan.

The primary cause of the poverty of its people is the paucity of resources and their underutilisation in the absence of planned development. The scope for cultivation is limited by its mountainous terrain, the per capita land available for agricultural pursuits is barely one-third of an acre. Difficulties of terrace farming which advanced countries like Japan have successfully overcome by the application technology, are formidable and its financial implications are simply forbidding, if it has to be undertaken on an extensive scale.

Azad Kashmir has no raw materials with the probable exception of wool to support the establishment of light industry. Whether it does have any mineral deposits to provide a basis for heavy industry in the future, will not be known without carrying out a geological survey to discover their presence in adequate quantities for profitable exploitation. Its most highly urbanised district, Muzaffarabad, is the least industrialised. Flour, saw mills and a furniture making plant cannot be described as manufacturing activity. These units are neither capital intensive nor labour intensive to provide opportunities either for investment or employment. The total number of workers employed by them would not exceed a few hundred.

Mirpur is relatively the most industrialised district. It has made a headway both in agriculture and industry because of its geographically advantageous location. Situated in the plains adjacent to the Mangla Dam, it is easily accessible by road and has a financially more resourceful population. Practically every family has one of its male members working abroad and sending remittances home for his dependents. Formerly used in construction, now their remittances are beginning to find an outlet into industries which have developed in recent years.

Textile mills, ready-made garment factories, edible oil mills and scooter assembling and manufacturing plants are mentionable among them. When all is said and done, the state is still industrially backward. Its backwardness is obvious from a serious unemployment problem. There is a noticeable drift of the population from the rural to urban areas and migration from the urban areas to foreign countries.

All possible avenues of gainful employment must therefore be explored through the exploitation of its material and manpower resources. Woolen and carpet industries, animal husbandry and dairy farming, poultry and fishing are notable examples which need to be planned and developed. Experiments in fish culture have yielded encouraging results to warrant its expansion both in the public and private sector. The Department of Tourism and Fishing hopes that the output of farms currently limited to a 1000 kilos can be eventually raised to 50 tons a year.

Since spring water is ideal for breeding the European species of trout, for which there is an increasing demand from the five-star hotels of Murree and Bhurban and the local gentry residing in the hill stations of Ayubia and Nathiagali the scope for the expansion of industry is tremendous. Besides, the Neelum itself abounds in the brown variety of trout which is no less delicious. On the Mangla Dam catch whose value amounts to over rupees one crore a year, Azad Kashmir has a rightful claim. The heaviest fish of Chinese origin weighs as much as 80 kilos.

The industry with the brightest future is tourism, if organised on a statewide basis. Only recently has it been recognised as an industry entitled to the encouragement and incentives given to new industrial ventures. Mere recognition will, however, not give it the required boost without state assistance and private participation. If in neighbouring Murree Rs [Rupees] 400 million can be invested in one hotel and an equal amount in the chair-lift and cable car projects, there is no earthly reason why adequate funds will not be forthcoming to make tourism a going and growing concern, from which the state can derive lucrative revenues for itself and employment to its people.

This unique combination of wondrous beauties in all its manifestations is a feast for human eyes. This bonanza of Nature must be opened up by building an infrastructure for the industry. Decent guest houses and rest houses, transport and communication facilities and ancillary services are essential for increasing the inflow of tourists from within and without the country. A well developed and well organised tourist industry can be a great asset to the government.

Short of agricultural land to meet the food requirements of its population, spring water available practically all over the state, should be used for the productions of fish in adequate quantities for local consumption. In Bangladesh where fish is the daily diet of its people, a fish

pond adjacent to the house was a familiar sight after independence. The women of Azad Kashmir who are shy of engaging themselves in outdoor occupations can be productively employed in their own homes by the establishment of large-scale garment industries if a whole range of new stitching and tailoring machines invented for making dresses is supplied through journeymen as is being done by many firms in Karachi, whose proprietors have become rich enough to maintain offices in Paris and New York.

Azad Kashmir's greatest single resource is its forest wealth. The timber extracted from its trees is world renowned for its strength and durability. Even in its saw log form, it is the most valuable source of revenue. Receipts from its sale could now amounting to Rs. 220 million could be doubled, tripled and even quadrupled if factories for processing it into veneer and plywood were set up within the private and public sector.

Development planning has suffered for a variety of reasons. Among them is the interminable apathy of the government whose functionaries are perpetually involved in political squabbles for place and power and 'who gets what out from holding office and sticking to it at all costs', definition of politics.

The state's budget is barely Rs. 4 billion, equivalent to the municipal budget of Karachi, while the demands on it are too exacting for its government to follow a purposeful and progressive policy. In presenting the budget for the current year, the Finance Minister observed that if the state revenues could not be enhanced, it is incumbent on the part of the government to reduce all superfluous expenditure in the administration. He appealed for a voluntary reduction in expenses by all functionaries of the government from the President, the Prime Minister down to the lowest official.

It is as good as saying that no economy will be effected in the light of our experience that non-development expenditure in Pakistan has continued to mount despite promises of scaling it down by every government at the time of assumption of office.

The state has yet to be opened up for commerce and industry. A network of roads linking all its parts is its basic pre-requisite. With four times the area of Karachi its road length (2665 km) is only two thirds of its mileage. The highway, if we may so call it, from Kohala to Muzaffarabad battered by landslides and broken in parts by erosion is in a constant state of repairs. If the Khakan Abbasi Road could be built from Murree to Kohala through mountainous terrain, why not an alternative road measuring thirty miles be constructed over the hills to avoid the bottlenecks that constantly hamper the smooth flow of passenger and cargo traffic. Even the proposal to build a new bridge on the Jhelum to replace the old one at Kohala, which has outlived its utility, must need be speeded up.

Factors in Economic, Ethnic Strife in Sindh Viewed

93AS0020A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 13, 14 Sep 92

[Article by Abdullah J. Memon: "Sindh: Employment Pattern and Discontent"]

[13 Sep p 10]

[Text] Among the many factors, which have contributed to discontent in Sindh, an important one is employment and its changing patterns, especially in respect of white collar jobs. It will be useful to trace out briefly the history of employment situation in Sindh since Independence to understand the effects of this historical process on relations between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking groups.

With the establishment of federal government in Karachi in 1947, literally thousands of jobs—became available overnight. Given the level of sociological growth of Muslim Sindhis at that time, there were very few takers among them of these suddenly abundant jobs. Some times, it is contended on behalf of Sindhis that from the very beginning, a conspiracy was hatched to slam the doors of these job opportunities on Sindhis.

Supposing the federal government had taken a decision at that time that no job under its control would be given to any one other than a Sindhi-speaking person provided he had the necessary academic background or job experience, far from all jobs, Sindhis would not have been able to provide even typists for the whole secretariat. What was the result of this local non-availability of qualified manpower? Well, it was an El Dorado for refugees from India, who were reaching Karachi by thousands every month. There are dozens, may be hundreds, of examples where a person reached Karachi today and would be installed in a nice cozy job in next couple of days. The fact that many senior positions in the newly-established government of Pakistan and its subordinate offices were manned by Urdu speaking officers from Delhi, who had opted for Pakistan, further added to this process like a snowball. Even if you did not have your degree with you, a letter from Moulvi Abdul Haque that, according to his recollection, you were a law graduate in India was good enough to land you a prestigious job, like additional city magistrate in the Karachi administration.

This process of almost total, exclusive and unchallenged hold of Urdu-speaking immigrants over the jobs market in Sindh continued for more than a decade. As a consequence of this easy availability of white-collar jobs here, the stream of immigrants from India was not only greatly facilitated, but remained alive long after the factors, which had initially got it flowing, ceased to be operative. The first setback was caused when the Ayub government decided to shift the capital in 1960. Many persons, who had hardly succeeded in setting up a home after more than a decade's struggle, were once again uprooted as they were required to shift to Rawalpindi-Islamabad.

The shifting of capital would have had far more serious socio-economic consequences for Urdu-speaking people, had it not been for the fact that precisely at that very time, economic development policies and projects initiated by Ayub and his predecessors were bearing fruit in Karachi, mainly in commercial and industrial sectors.

It was in those years—late 50s and early 60s that many new banks, insurance and shipping companies as well as large industrial establishments were set up in Karachi and other urban centers in Sindh, like Hyderabad and Sukkur. Thus the adverse effects on employment generation, caused by the shifting of capital, were largely offset by emerging and gathering vibrancy of private sector in Sindh. The result was that while Urdu-speaking community in Karachi did receive a jolt from the shifting of capital, it was able to absorb it with the help of private sector.

From our point of view, what is important here is to note that, despite this jolt, the earlier phenomenon of the abundant availability of white collar jobs in Karachi and in the rest of Sindh continued to survive almost without interruption. Also, that the largest beneficiaries of this bounty continued to be the Urdu-speaking people. No serious or consequential challengers had surfaced yet on the scene. Things continued to move along the same smooth and hazardless path during the decade of 60s as they had done since 1947.

Some dark clouds had started appearing on the horizon by closing years of the decade of 60s. More than 20 years of economic development in the interior of Sindh had given birth to a small educated band of youngsters. They had displayed some ability of political organization and agitation by their effective tactics and sound strategy during anti-One Unit movement.

Large numbers of working class people from the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Punjab had been attracted to Karachi and Hyderabad by rapid industrialization. This fresh wave of new arrivals was changing the demographic picture with obvious and detrimental, political and cultural implications for Urdu-speaking community.

While the leaders of the community were watching these gathering clouds with some concern and foreboding, the decade of 70s burst upon them like a torrent. The Urdu-speaking people were suddenly confronted with one serious adversity after another in very quick succession. On 1st July, 1970, the province of Sindh was revived with Karachi once again its part for the first time after 1948. On account of this development, Sindhis came to have some say, no matter how insignificant, in affairs of Karachi and other urban centers through the provincial government. In early 1972, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government nationalized many industrial units, in consequences of which Karachi based industrialists as employers were replaced by bureaucrats

from Islamabad. In July 1972, Mumtaz Bhutto came up with language bill, making Sindhi official language in addition to Urdu.

Earlier quota of Sindh in services was bifurcated into rural-urban with a ratio of 60:40. This quota system was also extended to admissions to the professional colleges. The new year day of 1974 brought with it the gift of another heavy dose of nationalization, under which all banks, insurance and shipping companies were taken over by the Punjab-based bureaucracy. This really hurt Urdu-speaking people very badly, because next to government jobs these institutions used to provide the widest avenues of employment to them.

Besides nationalized sector, the PPP government had also taken up some major projects in the public sector. All these projects came on steam during Zia years. Without exception, officers from Punjab and NWFP alone were put in senior positions in the corporations running these projects. Other federal entities in Sindh, with large employment opportunities, were also similarly manned throughout the tenure of the Zia regime. All these actions certainly did not help employment prospects of Urdu-speaking people in government, nationalized and public sectors.

Additionally, the decade of 70s also saw the emergence of a slowly but surely rising middle class among Sindhis. These people, for the first time, started raising claims to jobs in government as well as in professions which had, for more than two decades, been the exclusive and unchallenged preserve of Urdu-speaking people. The fact that these upstart claimants were also fortified with a favorable quota system only added fuel to the fire.

In private sector, construction industrial and services sector, particularly transport, witnessed fastest growth in Karachi during 70s. Traditionally, construction industry and transport services have always been dominated throughout Pakistan by Pathans and Punjabis. So here again, Urdu-speaking people experienced narrowing rather than expansion of job opportunities.

[14 Sep p 10]

To appreciate the impact of these crowding adversities, one should put oneself for a few moments in the shoes of Urdu-speaking community. For years, you have lived through an era of job monopoly. Suddenly, you are faced with challenges all around you. Not only that your economic prospects turn bleak, but you also perceive cultural and political threats rising from all directions. Naturally, you are overwhelmed by a pervasive, arresting sense of pessimism and anxiety. You see unfriendly ghosts looming large everywhere waiting to pounce upon you threatening your very survival. All of a sudden, you start questioning yourself whether you made a mistake to leave behind your land of origin for an ideal that does not seem to be working.

If you go through the poetry, short story, novel or plays written by Urdu-speaking poets and writers of the 70s or

80s, you are immediately struck by his feeling of pessimism, this emotion of questioning life itself and its worth and purpose, by this sense of not belonging, of being lost in a dark alley.

While these dark thoughts and crushing emotions were troubling Urdu-speaking people, their political leaders—Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] and JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] leaders—were not willing to talk about their concerns from public platform because of their constraints and inhibitions as national-level-leaders.

It was this background which led to the emergence and unprecedentedly rapid spread of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] on the political scene of urban Sindh. Within no time, the entire immigrant community rallied round the banner of MQM. The reason was very simple, MQM started talking about issues from public platform, which were being discussed in the drawing rooms and bustis of Urdu-speaking people since mid-70s. This also included the important issue of identity.

The basic strategy of MQM was (i) to achieve complete unity among immigrants from India who had settled in Sindh so that their voice could not be ignored at provincial or federal level, (ii) to develop street power to paralyze life in Karachi and Hyderabad at will. They needed the latter capability particularly badly, because they were aware from the very beginning that some of their demands were so unreasonable or unrealistic that extraordinary pressure tactics would be required to have these demands accepted, even partially. The success which they met in achieving these two strategic goals was beyond their own widest dreams.

While this remarkable success gave them a voice in national politics, completely out of proportion to their numbers in Pakistan's population, it also seemed to obscure their view of certain realities. They seemed to ignore the lesson of history that an obsessive craving for monolithic unity and personality cult inevitably led to the dark alleys of fascism which by its nature, is self-destructive.

They also failed to realize that no government worth its salt could permit a minority to hold a gun at its head for ever, to dictate to it policies for which the necessary consensus or political support was not available. Besides, they also did not appreciate that such ability to paralyze two important cities of the country had serious national security implications and therefore, would be ultimately unacceptable to the military.

Now let us try to understand what is the ultimate goal that the Urdu-speaking community wishes to achieve by throwing up a militant and strident political party like MQM. To me, it appears that their ultimate objective is to perpetuate the monopoly of privileges that they enjoyed during the first two decades of independence. Unfortunately, this is a totally unattainable goal, because it aims at halting the march of social forces in Sindh. Nobody throughout history has ever been able to stop constant working of social forces in any society anywhere in the world. Change is the only permanent law of

nature. No thinker or philosopher or social scientist has yet been able to propound a theory or formula to perpetuate a favorable state of things for ever.

This unrealistic goal and a flawed strategy has led MQM to a dead end. However, it will be a mistake to consider it MQM's crisis alone. It is the crisis of Urdu-speaking community as a whole. The identification between MQM and the community has been so complete that the two cannot be separated from one another.

Our Urdu-speaking friends should finally accept the plan truth that the night of monopolistic bliss which they enjoyed in early years of Pakistan was as much an outcome of historical factors as is the harsh and hot day of challenge and contention facing them in this fiftieth decade of independence. They should realize that Sindhis of 1992 that they confront today are not the same Sindhis their elders met in 1947. There was only one Muslim Ph.D. in whole of Sindh in 1947 while they are more than 100 of them today on Jamshoro Campus alone. At the same time, our Sindhi friends should also understand that no community likes to give up its privileges even if they have been rendered outdated by history. In the Machiavellian world of politics, the norm is that what is mine is mine but what is yours is negotiable. If they really wish an accommodation with Urdu-speaking people, Sindhis will have to demonstrate extraordinary understanding and sensitivity to enable the other community to adjust with the changing times. If this spirit of compromise is not generated on both sides, the alternative is ever intensifying conflict which can only darken and embitter the lives of their future generations. It can also endanger national security by providing opening to hostile foreign forces.

Separation of Karachi from Sindh is also considered an option by some elements. The assumption is that Urdu-speaking people would form a majority in the new province of Karachi.

However, this is a very doubtful proposition. Urdu-speaking people were nearly 54 percent of Karachi's total population in 1981 census. It was also found in that census that 1,25,000, people were coming to Karachi every year from the rest of Pakistan.

Because of this factor, it is quite likely that Urdu-speaking people have already ceased to be a majority here. If not, they are sure to lose this advantage in a decade or two. Their relative share in Karachi's population will go on decreasing over the next decades because of the powerful pull effect of Karachi's ever-expanding services sector which is and will continue, to attract thousands of people from north as well as interior of Sindh.

The other alternative of Jinnahpur of Urdudesh is not only treasonable, but also unachievable. The first precondition for the success of a separatist movement is homogeneity of population. And Karachi is a very heterogeneous city. Also, the government and people of Pakistan have invested so heavily in this metropolis that they cannot afford to give it up for any consideration. Besides, Karachi is Pakistan's gateway to the world.

Post Offices May Offer Modern Insurance Service*92AS1549C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
9 Sep 92 p 2*

[Excerpt] Islamabad, Sept 8: Minister of State for Communication has emphasised the need for expansion of Postal Services in the field of financial activity, so that it can develop the infrastructure of its subsidiary bodies namely the Post Bank, the Post Insurance and the State Express according to a press release.

He was addressing the second meeting of the PPSC [Provincial Public Service Commission] Board of Directors which approved the proposal for establishment of a modern insurance service with large coverage.

He emphasised the urgent need for exploiting these fields of economic activity, as a great potential was available for generation of revenues of a huge magnitude. He also directed the consultants, engaged by the PPSC, to complete all the studies assigned to them within the stipulated period so that the ambitious and vital plans of the PPSC could be implemented with the required amount of dedication and in the right direction.

M. Salman Faruqui, Secretary, Ministry of Communications emphasised the need for privatisation of postal activities in urban areas so that funds become available for rural areas where it is proposed to double the number of post offices in the first phase.

Secretary Communications also highlighted the priority which Post Bank proposes to assign to specialized services which it will henceforth render for collection of utility bills nearest to subscribers and with every possible facility provided to them for payment on the pattern of services available in developed countries.

The Board of Directors approved the proposal for establishment of Postal Circle for AJ&K [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] such projects shall be undertaken at Karachi and Lahore and shall be followed by similar projects in other major cities like Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Peshawar, Faisalabad, Multan, Hyderabad, etc.

The PPSC Board of Directors approved the plan for improving the existing delivery arrangements in Karachi Postal Area, and the Northern Areas. The board also asked the Director General to prepare feasibility for establishment of model post offices in major cities during the first phase.

The Board of Directors also approved certain major development projects, construction of Postal Plazas and Postal Tower in major cities. [passage omitted]

Peshawar: Article Urges Medical Complex Completion*92AS1521C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Sep 92 p 5*

[Text] Peshawar, Aug 31: Hayatabad Medical Complex [HMC] is still incomplete despite lapse of five years due to financial constraints.

The gloomy tale of a unique medical complex of its kind in the province rooted long back when, at the culmination of world attention towards Afghan issue, the provincial government planned to utilise aid packages for health facilities to Afghan refugees in 1984. It was said that the establishment of a hospital in Hayatabad was just as there were many scattered Afghan refugees camps in its vicinity.

A high-level meeting, presided over by the then NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Governor, Gen Fazle Haq, finally decided that the complex could be constructed at Hayatabad and would have three specialities i.e. gynaecology, paediatrics and ophthalmology. The project's cost of the building component was estimated at Rs [Rupees] 88.454 million. The HMC would be a 1200-bed hospital and comprised 360 kanal area. Saudi Arabia donated Rs 5,39,00,000 for it and the then British Premier Margaret Thatcher during her visit to Pakistan in early 1985 announced an aid amounting to Rs 4,05,00,000. The rest was to be provided by the provincial government itself.

The HMC project was formally approved in February 1985, and the work on the project commenced on May 10, 1985 by Adamjee Construction Co., under the supervision of C and W Department. The project was to be completed in October 1987.

In 1987, it was revealed that the project would not be completed in the given time due to unexplained reasons. Therefore, the remittance period was extended up to October 1989. And now it is the end of 1992 and the project is yet to be accomplished.

When THE MUSLIM contacted the authorities, they were busy in discussions about an OPEC representative who was expected to sponsor the project to an extent that it could become functional.

THE MUSLIM was told that the construction company was "expected" to hand over the building up to December 1992. After which medical components would be installed. Nobody knows how long this process would be lingered on.

Apart from the "continued" delays in the construction works, leg-pulling tactics paralleled the project as some senior doctors were insisting to declare the HMC a general hospital, adding all departments rather than a specialist hospital of only three departments of gynae, paediatrics and ophthalmology. The project managers, on the other hand, insisted that fathomless changes were required in the basic blueprint of the project provided it was changed from specialist to a general hospital. But residents of Hayatabad and adjoining areas were also demanding the declaration of HHC [as published] as a general hospital.

Sirajul Haq Yousafzai, president of Hayatabad residents society, said that people outrightly rejected Hayatabad Medical Complex—par excellence—having children, gynaecology and eye-units only. In a press statement he

strongly criticised this specified status of the medical complex as it suited vested interests of a particular group of medical hierarchy. He said that HMC should be a full-fledged general hospital, otherwise people would not allow it to function.

Whatever the status should be, it is most important that the hospital should start functioning as soon as possible.

Press Rights Issue, Proceedings Viewed

92AS1549H Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
16 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi: "Press Rights Guaranteed by Constitution: Aitzaz—Reference Against Four Newspapers"]

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 15: The very assumption that the Speaker of the National Assembly [NA] was competent to refer a point of privilege to the Privilege Committee for examination and a report in the first place was against the fundamental rights duly guaranteed in the Constitution and secondly, the matter had not been raised in accordance with rule 83 of the Rules of Business of the House.

These points were raised here on Tuesday during the deliberations of the Privilege Committee which met to examine a reference sent by the Speaker against four national dailies—THE MUSLIM, THE NATION, THE FRONTIER POST, and the NAWAI WAQAT. The Speaker had accused the four newspapers of publishing reports which according to him caused reflection on his impartiality.

The 14-member committee which in one of its earlier meetings found the reference sent by the Speaker in order and summoned the representatives of all the four newspapers for hearing their point of view, as to initiate

its proceedings when one of its members Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan differed with the Chairman of the committee, who said the committee in its earlier meeting in which Ch. Aitzaz was not present, decided to take up the matter contesting his argument. Ch. Aitzaz said since the issue was related to the interpretation of the Constitution, its legal implication has to be decided before the committee could take up the issue.

Ch. Aitzaz challenged the right of the Speaker to put into question the rights of the newspapers which were constitutionally guaranteed to them. He quoted article 19 of the Constitution which clearly stated that "there shall be freedom of Press subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam, or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality or in relation to contempt of court (commission of) or incitement to an offence."

Ch. Aitzaz said the press freedom could not be subjected to the contempt of the Parliament or the Speaker.

The member was still presenting his arguments when the chairman of the committee after consultations with his ministerial colleague Asadur Rehman requested the representatives of the Press to vacate the room as the committee was first to decide the legal and constitutional objections raised by the member. "Sorry sir, we could hardly take 10 minutes to decide the issue in camera and then you all would be invited again to present your point of view," he told the media men and requested them to wait in an adjacent room.

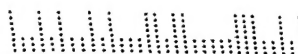
The newsmen waited for the invitation of the chairman for more than half an hour when one of his representatives approached them that the issue would take more time and the chairman did not want them to keep waiting for a long time. He said the chairman would summon them again if found necessary and they would be informed accordingly.

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